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# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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6 March 1985

## EAST EUROPE REPORT

### POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

ALBANIAN COMMENT ON HUNGARY'S NEED FOR WESTERN CAPITAL

AU051748 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GNT 3 Feb 85

[Station Commentary: "Increased Dependence on Western Capital Brings Along Grave Economic and Political Repercussions"]

[Excerpts] According to the Hungarian paper NEPSZABADSAG, 357 Hungarian enterprises have agreements with foreign Western firms. The total number of such agreements is more than 2000, an increase of 500 over last year. These agreements are stimulated by capitalist reforms which are taking place in the Hungarian economy, giving the right to individual enterprises to make direct contact with foreign firms. The goods produced under such agreements with Americans, West German, Japanese, Italian, French, and other firms make up 28 percent of the country's industrial exports. This revisionist country is stimulating ties with Western firms as well as creating new joint ventures, which now number 27. This shows that the Hungarian economy, in parallel with its many dependencies on the Russian monopolies, is also moving toward dependence on Western machinery. The Hungarian revisionists are trying in various forms to attract as many capitalist companies and financial institutions as they can. Last year, Hungarian obligations toward foreign capital amounted to a record of \$8.4 billion, pushing the country into greater debt.

Why are the Hungarian revisionists and other revisionist countries opening their doors to Western monopolies? At the moment, the Hungarian economy is in crisis. Production has slowed down in that country, investments have decreased, costs are rising, inflation is increasing, and economic efficiency is declining. Under these conditions, the Hungarian revisionist leaders are hoping, with Western help and credits, to soften the impact of the crisis and to decrease the working masses' dissatisfaction. It should be stressed that the new Hungarian bourgeoisie is using the loans and credits from the West and the East to improve its own parasitic consumption. For new hotel construction and tourist centers alone, they have obtained credits of 5 billion [Austrian] schillings. These projects serve as a security for the foreign currencies and also to satisfy the whims of the new bourgeoisie.

The creation of joint ventures and the new credits are only to the advantage of big Western capital. It is well known that capitalists do not give credit to anyone unless it is in their own economic, political, and ideological interest.

BULGARIA

GERMAN LANGUAGE, CULTURE IN EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

West Berlin DER TAGESSPIEGEL in German 1 Jan 85 p 3

[Article by Alfred Joachim Fischer, date and place not given: "Eight German Secondary Schools in Bulgaria"]

[Text] A foreign correspondent visiting Bulgaria is pleased to see how many of the persons interviewed by him have a very good command of German. The charming minister of justice, Svetla Deskalova, a leading politician of the peasants party, speaks it fluently. She attended the Sofia German School for 12 years, graduating from it in 1940.

Since Bulgaria turned socialist, a great many fundamental things have changed in the field of education as well. Any schools directed and largely financed from abroad, such as the German or the older American college, had to close. Education is exclusively in the hands of the state. Tradition has been preserved in other ways, however. The People's Republic too maintains schools with a foreign language as the language of instruction or conversation. In the lead (how could it be otherwise?) is Russian. In fact, Russian is also an obligatory subject at the other Bulgarian schools, but of course not so intensively. There are five schools where French is the main language of instruction, six where the principal language of instruction is English, and eight where it is German--in the latter case three more than during the time of the monarchy.

Contacts With the GDR

The considerable interest in German instruction is easy to explain. With no country is there such a busy cultural exchange as with the GDR, which also generously issues invitations to scholars and artists. Globally, it is Bulgaria's second biggest trade partner, while the Federal Republic holds the lead among nonsocialist countries. Both German states fill high tourist quotas in Bulgaria.

No great formalities were needed to get permission from the German Karl Liebknecht School in Sofia, the most important of the eight German schools, to tape-record a class and an interview. Architecturally the white school

building, very modern and filled with light, is highly successful. Everywhere there are photos of Liebknecht, Georgi Dimitrov and the head of the party and state, Todor Zhivkov, and there are also pictures from the GDR and East Berlin. The foreign guest is greeted with "Freundschaft" [Friendship] and a merry "Guten Tag" [Good morning or How do you do].

At first the students during a class in literature in the 11th grade (all in the obligatory dark-blue uniform) are self-conscious facing the microphone. Excuses of having been absent on the respective day or having forgotten are countered by the invariably good-humored woman teacher from Saxony, married to a Bulgarian, with the warning: "Ladies and gentlemen, that won't be of any use to you at all during the graduation exams."

The subject was "short prose." When one of the boys wanted to include novellas, blond Ludmilla interrupted him, saying: "No, that is medium-length prose." Never did anyone resort to Bulgarian words or terms. Another girl, accurately and in excellent German explains the meaning and construction of an anecdote, saying that it was intended primarily to sketch the character of the hero (the subject generally being an important personage); it was important to present it in compressed form, which made the sentence structure more complicated. Another girl student interjects at that point: "Even more crucial is the point the anecdote wants to make, for that is what it lives on."

Slowly the boys liven up as well. One tells the nice story about the industrial manager who asks his secretary what book he should give his wife for her birthday and receives the good advice: "A savings account book."

#### Picasso and Guernica

The students pay close attention when one of the probably most gifted girls narrates F.C. Weisskopf's short story "Souvenir." The point of the story: During the occupation of Paris, Picasso escorted a Gestapo officer, as he had many curious Germans previously, through his studio without saying a word. At the end Picasso would always drop the single word "souvenir," presenting the guest with a reproduction of his painting of the destroyed Spanish town of Guernica. The Gestapo officer asks: "Did you do that?" Picasso replies: "No, you did." Enthusiastic comments: Picasso knew how to cope with difficult situations...He made it clear to him that they were responsible for this outrage...A clever man, good at repartee...A sincere communist. Incidentally, this was the only allusion to party politics during the whole class.

Quite a bit of information came out of a long talk with Helga Guneva, the deputy director of the Karl Liebknecht School responsible for all German instruction. At present the students number 850. Of about 500 applicants, 125 qualify every year. Of these 125, 50 come from the provinces and are accommodated in a boarding house for all foreign-language students. The other German schools in Bulgaria take on 100 new students a year. An absolute prerequisite is excellent grades upon completion of the seventh elementary school

grade. In the case of girls, who are more gifted, a grade of 6 (very good) is the absolute minimum, whereas boys can make do with grade 5. This is the only way to achieve parity of composition as far as sex is concerned. Subjects of the exam are Bulgarian (still in the mother tongue, of course) and mathematics.

Demands in the preparatory grade are tough: 22 hours of German a week. After a year one has to have a vocabulary of 5,000 to 7,000 words. It includes basic terms in physics, chemistry and geography, which from the eighth grade on will form part of the regular German-language instruction. By graduation the vocabulary is to rise to 12,000 words. This is all the more remarkable because only 1 in 30 students has a good or fair knowledge of German before entering the school. Subjects in Bulgarian must not be neglected either. In fact, during the last school year it is the sole language of instruction--which is to facilitate the transition to university.

Bert Brecht and Heinrich Boell

In the ninth grade, instruction in German literature starts with fairytales and funny stories. In addition students work their way through their first play, Bert Brecht's "Die Gewehre der Frau Carrar" [The Guns of Mrs Carrar], which Helga Guneva says is couched in a language they have no difficulty understanding. The 10th and 11th grades deal with the classic German authors--primarily Goethe, Schiller, Lessing and Herder--and romanticism. In contemporary literature not only writers from the GDR get their due but also authors from the "capitalist countries"--meaning the Federal Republic, Austria and Switzerland. At any rate, there are to be no graduates who have not digested a lot of Brecht, Anna Seghers, Bruno Apitz, Johannes R. Becher, Friedrich Wolf, Heinrich Boell, Guenter Grass, Max von der Gruen and Guenter Wallraff.

Of the 49 teachers of the Karl Liebknecht School, 6 were sent from the GDR. Their tasks include instructing the students in Marxist ideology during the "Komsomol Teaching Year." The salaries are paid by the Bulgarian state. Three of the women teachers from Germany are married to Bulgarians. Their domestic colleagues more often than not have attended colleges in the other part of Germany, and all of them have made short visits to the Federal Republic. They were offered advanced training courses in German, seminars and highly praised educational trips. There are good contacts with the Goethe Institute in Munich.

Partners in East Berlin

There exists a satisfactory partnership with the Friedrich Engels School in East Berlin and a factory school in Erkner. This leads for instance to the exchange of student groups and student choirs. The "Club of Friendship," to which the GDR contributes innumerable papers and journals, is being promoted. For the purpose of additional activity in the language of instruction, students' artistic circles issue invitations to German sketches and even performances of entire plays.

What with German also being taught at many other Bulgarian schools as a second or third foreign language, the educated strata of the People's Republic, just like those of the kingdom in former days, remain closely tied to German and German culture.

8790

CSO: 2300/229

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

'NO CHANGES' IN REAGAN STATE OF UNION MESSAGE

AU120912 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 8 Feb 85 p 7

[Dusan Rovensky Washington Dispatch: "Message on the State of the Union Congress; the 'Star Wars' Program--Reagan's Primary Goal"]

[Text] The State of the Union Address, which is in fact the administration's program declaration submitted to the Congress at the beginning of every year by the U.S. President, was expected this year with even greater attention than at other times. Actually, it was presumed that Reagan would formulate it in the main tasks of the policy to be pursued by the Republican administration during the next 4 years. His Wednesday statement showed that the Republicans' policy remains the same--both in domestic political issues, and in foreign political ones.

Reagan asked for a "strong defense"--a formulation which conceals the escalation of armament. He claimed that this is the only way to force the USSR to negotiate. But the enormous armament expenditures can only have an opposite effect on U.S.-USSR relations. Reagan defended his military budget, which is to reach the sum of \$322.2 billion, and which will increase 13 percent in the coming fiscal year; and he asked Congress to agree to the construction of additional intercontinental MX missiles. Although the United States has unwound a new armament round, Reagan hypocritically claimed that "none of us has a greater dream than to see the day when the nuclear missile on this our earth is banned forever."

He placed space arms in first place among government tasks; and he asked that further enormous financial means be released for their development.

The president's speech contained no indication that the American Government wants to conduct constructive negotiations with the Soviet Union. His statement contained nothing to show that Washington is willing to negotiate in Geneva on averting the militarization of outer space. This does not establish a favorable atmosphere for these talks.

The second, and no less alarming, feature of the speech was the pressure on Congress to agree to the escalation of assistance for the counterrevolutionary storm troops that are striving to destroy the achievements of the Sandinist revolution in Nicaragua. Reagan reiterated totally unsubstantiated accusations

against the socialist countries, and called the counterrevolutionary groups "freedom fighters." He reserved for the United States the right to support the counterrevolutionary elements also in other countries, and he even said that this is "U.S. self-defense." This is equal to the direct support of terrorism.

The State of the Union message showed that those who had counted on Reagan's policy changing in the second term of office, succumbed to an illusion. Reagan's speech indicated further armament--above all, in space arms, which the Pentagon regards as arms with a future, as arms that will enable the United States to acquire strategic superiority over the Soviet Union. The emphasis on the construction of new intercontinental MX missiles means that aggressive arms systems will be speedily built. And, finally, what the president said about Central America, indicates a further and yet stronger meddling in the internal affairs of sovereign countries.

CSO: 2400/276



CZECHOSLOVAKIA

GOVERNMENT OFFICIAL CRITICIZES HAINBURG DAM

Bratislava NOVE SLOVO in Slovak 10 Jan 85 p 10

[Interview with Eng Vladimir Lokvenc, plenipotentiary of the CSSR Government and of the SSR government, by Vladimir Jancura: "Why Is Hainburg a Mistake?"]

[Text] This whole issue affects us directly. After all, Hainburg is right below--or rather under--Bratislava's nose. We cannot feel indifferent to what is taking place on the Danube, a couple of kilometers upriver. For that reason we [publish] the following interview with Eng Vladimir Lokvenc, the plenipotentiary of the CSSR Government and of the SSR Government for the construction of the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros waterworks, to which Austrian mass communication media are lately referring with great pleasure.

[Question] Comrade, the Hainburg issue which has stirred up the surface of Austrian and international public opinion so much remains a topic of sharp controversies also in professional circles. As our top specialist in waterworks construction and in the problem of the Danube area, you must be following those debates. What is your general impression of them?

[Answer] First of all, I should like to mention that we have been following the Hainburg "issue", as you call it, since 1951. At that time we proceeded from the outlines of plans according to which the Hainburg dam would be the last stage on the Austrian section of the Danube--then, however, it was to be substantially lower than the one which is at present under consideration. Our plans for exploitation of the energy potential of the Danube were to be linked with it. Our first negotiations with the Austrians on the level of governmental delegations took place in September 1955. At that time they asked us to consider the possibility of joint construction of a Czechoslovak-Austrian stage on the Danube. Why? Because already then they opposed the construction of a dam in the vicinity of Hainburg, particularly in view of its negative effect on Austrian territory, although the proposed stage was to have substantially lower backwater than the currently planned one. Austrian authorities were then using almost the same arguments to which their opponents are now resorting. The Czechoslovak party conceded to the requests of the Austrian partners and we jointly studied three variants for the location of the future waterworks. In April 1957 it was agreed on the level of governmental delegations that we would build jointly the Bratislava-Wolfsthal stage at km 1,873.3. An agreement

concerning this undertaking was jointly drafted. Nevertheless, the construction was never launched mainly due to insufficient funds. However, it was agreed that the negotiations would continue at a more opportune time. During the 1959-1969 period the discussions were suspended, but the important thing--and the reason why I mention this historic effort--is that the agreement on the joint construction of the Bratislava-Wolfsthal waterworks gave us a firm spot for the layout of the next section down the Danube for its joint exploitation with the Hungarian People's Republic. The Gabčíkovo-Nagymaros project is a follow-up of the proposed Bratislava-Wolfsthal stage, and thus not of the new Hainburg plan proposed by the Austrians alone.

As for my impressions from the ongoing debates concerning the Hainburg issue which are taking place in the country of our neighbors, I shall be brief: I think that many Austrian experts have not informed the general and professional public in their country correctly and completely if they have failed to disclose certain serious arguments against Hainburg--the same arguments they themselves were wielding even 20 years ago. They are not objectively comparing their other plans for the exploitation [of the Danube] which they had proposed, for instance, for the Bratislava-Wolfsthal stage to be linked with the Regelsbrunn stage, with the dam 152 m above the sea level, and with the Vienna stage.

[Question] Suppose that you were an Austrian citizen and that you had all the necessary information. In that case would you support or oppose the construction of a dam near Hainburg?

[Answer] One may fully agree with the Austrians as concerns the benefits of the exploitation of the Danube's energy. It is cheaper than energy produced from coal or from imported oil or obtained by construction of nuclear power plants, and especially from the fuel procured for those plants, and so on. Even if I were an Austrian citizen, I would wholeheartedly support the construction of another waterworks on the Danube, but with the information available to me I would vehemently and definitely oppose the proposed construction near Hainburg.

[Question] Why? How would you explain your negative attitude?

[Answer] The construction of a power plant near Hainburg will cause Austria above all an irretrievable loss of energy on a short section below Hainburg down to the confluence of the Danube with the Morava River as well as energy in the joint Czechoslovak-Austrian section. It is not a negligible amount--altogether it will be roughly 770 million kWh annually. The CSSR would share 36 percent of that loss, and thus we would lose jointly about 275 million kWh, which again is not insignificant because that amount cannot be generated in a year even in the hydroelectric plants in Orlik, Slapy or Nosice (where the annual capacity is 150 million kWh) or Madunice (with annual capacity of 140 million kWh). However, Hainburg will hurt Austria far more. The annual loss it will cause will be 1.5 billion kWh.

My second objection pertains to the effect of the Hainburg dam on river transportation to Vienna. The construction of the dam would cause a 3.5 to 4.5 meter difference between the water level near Gabčíkovo and the lower level below Hainburg. In other words, the water level will no longer be continuous, and thus the necessary navigation depth of 3.5 meters will not--or rather cannot--be achieved; that is the depth on which in the first place the Austrian experts in the Danube Commission used to insist, because they envisaged that in the future the Vienna port would also admit smaller seafaring vessels. For that reason they intend to build one large lock in the Hainburg dam. However, the navigation depth is important. Without it deep-water navigation to Vienna would be automatically prevented and would end for all purposes in Bratislava.

And finally, if I were an Austrian, I would use the ecological arguments that have been discussed at some length in our press. So all I shall add is that the fundamental ecological obstacles related to Hainburg would be eliminated by the construction of the joint Bratislava-Wolfsthal dam and its next Austrian stage near Regelsbrunn.

[Question] However, you are a citizen of the CSSR...

[Answer] ... and for that reason I cannot ignore our own interests. First of all, let us take a look at the map and consider the already built as well as the planned power plant stages on the Danube below Vienna. I want to call your attention in particular to the power they generate. The already operating plants are generating annually--starting from the top and proceeding down to the bottom--286, 179, 168, 210, 200 kWh, and the planned plants [will generate] 187 and 150 million kWh; next is Greifenstein which covers Vienna (284 million kWh) and finally the Vienna stage with 141 million kWh. However, it is the intention of the Austrians to build a power plant above Bratislava with 366 million kWh annual capacity. That means that backwater will be dammed 152 m above sea level, which they would not even dare to consider when planning the cascade above our capital. I do not have to emphasize that in case of some disaster such a high stage directly above our capital would seriously endanger Bratislava's safety.

Austrian leaders, including the chancellor of the federation, have repeatedly stated that Hainburg is their internal state affair. I agree, but if we take into consideration the correlations I have mentioned, then in the interest of good neighborly relations, which those persons are so fond of postulating, it would also be proper to recognize the suggestions and interests of their neighbors and to discuss them with us.

[Question] If not Hainburg, then what would you recommend as an alternative for greater efficiency rather than as a substitute?

[Answer] Wolfsthal--which would have lower backwater than Hainburg, but which would have approximately the same gradient as the Austrian stages above Vienna. And next would be Regelsbrunn which would be linked with Wolfsthal. Thus, the Danube's energy could be exploited in full and without any losses mainly for Austria.

[Question] I just cannot believe that at least some Austrian experts would not be aware of the facts you have mentioned. But then a logical question is: why are they silent?

[Answer] They find themselves in an awkward position. Those who understand these problems may be employed by the OD AG state association. Its general director is one of the designers of the Hainburg waterworks. How could they oppose it? Others lack a proper insight into the problem and some are even manipulating the data and the results of research. I do not wish to impute any evil intentions to all of them, but it is certain that they either underestimate the harmful consequences of the planned waterworks for the CSSR, or they keep silent about them.

[Question] In conjunction with Czechoslovak protests against the construction of the power plant near Hainburg which is under consideration, bourgeois propaganda seems to be retaliating by attacking the Gabčíkovo-Nagymaros waterworks. What would you say about that?

[Answer] Those "critics" are wrong. Indeed, the Danube used to give us--and is still giving us--a headache. For that reason we approached most responsibly the preparations for the construction of that waterworks. The long-lasting drought was destroying our wetland forests and the long-lasting high water levels not only harm our forests but also have caused flooding; in some years tens of thousands hectares of the land were flooded by the water which did not break through the dam--not to speak of the catastrophe of 1965. Today those "critics" are turning everything upside down. They allege that our forests are dying because of the waterworks. They would not admit that the forests were dying already when the dam was no more than an idea for us. At that time expert hydroeconomists proposed that we blaze a 250 meter wide strip of land on both banks of the Danube, since the dense growth prevented the runoff of the water during the floods and contributed to the formation of ice jams during freezing weather in the winter; that obstructed the runoff of the waters and increased the danger of flooding. If we accept this proposal, most of the forests along the entire Bratislava-Palkovicovo stretch of the Danube would be lost. The opposite is true--the [forest] areas were saved mostly by the waterworks. In conclusion, I should like to stress one thing that is often forgotten. When drafting the concept for the Gabčíkovo-Nagymaros waterworks we considered 100 alternatives, and for the final--the best--one we prepared a bioproject. I can confirm that its implementation will have a beneficial effect on the whole environment.

9004

CSO: 2400/233

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

AUSTRIAN CP CHAIRMAN INTERVIEWED ON TALKS WITH BILAK

LD090013 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 8 Feb 85

[Excerpts] As we have already reported, a meeting took place today in Bratislava between Vasil Bilak, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, and Franz Muhri, chairman of the Communist Party of Austria.

After the talks, Franz Muhri granted an interview to Czechoslovak Radio. Asked how he evaluated the results of the talks with Comrade Bilak in Bratislava, Franz Muhri replied as follows:

[Begin recording in German, fading into Czech translation] Our talks took place in a friendly and fraternal atmosphere. In all the issues under discussion, an identity of views was shown in the analysis of the fundamental problems of the international situation. We also spoke about a whole series of specific problems relating to deepening relations between both our parties, which we are developing on the basis of proletarian internationalism and Marxism-Leninism. From this point of view, the talks were definitely a further contribution to consolidating the alliance between our two parties. We attach great importance to the fact that our meeting took place at a time when certain forces in Austria are vociferously attempting to prevent the further development of relations between our states. The talks which we held have once again confirmed that Czechoslovakia, as before, will continue to adopt in this respect a constructive approach and is doing everything to ensure that good-neighborly relations are created and consolidated between our states. In a situation in which there are 200,000 unemployed in Austria and in which the development of economic relations with the socialist countries should be seen in terms of the job opportunities it provides, and from the point of view of fighting unemployment among young people, Czechoslovakia's attitude toward our country is exceptionally important. It is a factor which we welcome and support in the national interests of our country. It is important to create a good-neighborly relations too for the sake of international detente and strengthening peace, all the more so today, when the Reagan administration is exerting increased pressure on neutral Austria with the aim of enlisting our country in its crusade of confrontation with the Soviet Union and the other socialist states. [End recording]

CSO: 2400/276

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

GERMAN ATTITUDE TOWARD PAST CRITICIZED

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 24 Jan 85 p 6

[Article by Vitezslav Havlicek: "For Whom the Memorial?"]

[Text] The situation surrounding the planning of the so-called national memorial is typical of the singular attitude of the current government circles to history. Bonn, as the capital of the German Federal Republic, until now has had no monument commemorating the antifascist struggle. Even at the time when the board for its planning was established there were questions about to whom the memorial actually should be dedicated. The representatives of one of the most important organizations of those who took part in the fight against Hitler on the territory of today's German Federal Republic, the German Exemplary Soldier Association of antifascists, were not invited to participate. On the other hand, present were revanchists and representatives of organizations of former Nazi soldiers....

Now, on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the defeat of fascism, the public is to be acquainted with the government's proposal for establishing the memorial. It has even already been discussed in the Bundestag. It elicited strong protests from the ranks of the opposition. As became apparent, the memorial, according to the submitted proposals, actually was not to be a condemnation of Nazi crimes and a warning about the horrors of war, but was to honor the memory of fallen soldiers and to contribute toward the strengthening of "national consciousness."

Not one word about guilt, not one word of apology. No mention of the millions of victims of Hitler's hordes throughout Europe, about Oradour or Lidice, representatives of the opposition noted. "Did the government consider," sarcastically inquired German Socialist Party representative P. Conradi, "how foreign delegations visiting Bonn, such as those from France, Czechoslovakia or other countries, would feel about placing a wreath at such a monument?"

Government representatives did not respond to this question. West German antifascists recommended that a memorial to the victims of Nazism be established on the banks of the Rhine. According to the latest reports, the government is still considering the final design of the memorial.

Just as in the case of the propaganda campaign, which by distorting the events of 40 years ago is trying to negate the lesson of history, the whole truth does not fit in, even while planning the memorial, with the objectives of those who are calling for the renewal of a "strong Germany," who are refusing to learn from history. Otherwise the Right could not continue with plans against which protests already have been raised in the past by many different democratic organizations.

"The Germans have learned from the experience of history," said Federal Chancellor H. Kohl, trying to calm the fears expressed by many in connection with these developments in the German Federal Republic, particularly the increasingly evident displays of militarization and revanchism.

But as he did many times before, he settled again this time for a nonbinding statement, although he has had more than enough opportunities to make a firm decision. Even toward the end of last year, the announcement of the chancellor's participation in another revanchist rally, this time organized under the slogan "Silesia Remains Ours," aroused extreme indignation. Following protests by the West German and international public, the revanchists brought out a "revised" slogan, which was no less an arrogant proclamation of territorial demands against Poland and a questioning of the political realities of Europe. The Bonn government alone did not understand this--or at least pretended not to--and Chancellor Kohl definitely promised Hupke and Co that he would be the main speaker at the revanchist rally in Hannover in June.

Could there be a more objective confirmation that under the present government the revanchists feel downright called upon to increase their activity? Forty-four functionaries of revanchist organizations actually are representing the government parties in the Bundestag.

Nonetheless, it would not be right to believe that everybody in the German Federal Republic goes along with the revanchists. Many citizens of the Federal Republic have indeed managed to learn from the events of 40 years ago. Even today there are living in the German Federal Republic those who fought against nazism all their lives. Their experiences have also been absorbed by some of the younger generation, as is evident from the broad support for the activities of democratic organizations on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of liberation and peace, as well as from many public statements. Many citizens of the German Federal Republic see in the support of the revanchist provocations, in the questioning of the post-war order in Europe, in the arbitrary interpretation of concluded treaties, a stain on the image of the Federal Republic.

"Territorial demands jeopardize peace and our existence," writes, for example, H. W. von Wistersheim with revanchist leaders in mind, in a letter sent to the



FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU. "As a Silesian, I came to terms with the loss of my estate. I found good friends in Poland and I often go there to visit them," he states.

Lately such voices, protesting revanchist provocations and their support from the right, have been growing in number. To be sure, voices are also heard which indicate that revanchism is not represented in the German Federal Republic by professional functionaries only.

That led to protests against the questioning of the postwar order in Europe, against arbitrary interpretations of concluded treaties, even by many honest members of the government parties, who until recently believed in the assurances about the "continuity of foreign policy" and "keeping faith with concluded treaties." Even some members of the current coalition government warned against proclaiming territorial demands, on the grounds that it would compromise the credibility of the German Federal Republic abroad. This was the reason why the federal minister of foreign affairs, Genscher, spoke up against revanchist machinations. DIE WELT sharply rebuked him. His statement, it said, plays into the hands of those who would take the German Federal Republic to task for revanchism. As is well known, revanchism, according to H. Kohl, does not exist in the German Federal Republic at all....

On the face of it, there does not seem to be a connection. A few slanderous articles, manipulated television serials, a controversial memorial, increasing revanchist provocations. But behind it all there is one common denominator: an effort to negate the lessons of history, to deny the relevance of treaties of the anti-Hitler coalition, and cast doubt on the postwar order in Europe. Such schemes are extraordinarily dangerous for peace in Europe.

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CZECHOSLOVAKIA

SOCIALIST MORAL VALUES DEFINED

Prague NOVA MYSL in Slovak No 1, 1985 pp 145-148

[Article by Jan Zlatokanic: "Social Ideal and Activity in a Socialist Society"]

[Excerpts] A social ideal develops in conjunction with a world view. An inadequately developed world view stresses the short-term, utilitarian ideals that stem from the needs of the day. Such a view does not know or is incapable of viewing the ideal of the present from a historical perspective. This is evident, for example, in the case of those of our contemporaries who subject their thinking and actions to a provincial ideal. To own as many material goods as possible has been promoted as their goal in life, forgetting that what is involved are the means of reaching that goal, i.e., a full, meaningful life.

We often understand the concept of an ideal to be an example formed in people's minds, a model, a perfect idea which is considered to be the ultimate goal of our efforts. If we wish to comprehend the true nature of an ideal, it is necessary that we know why and how it came into existence, what is its content, its role in societal life and its tendencies and inner dialectics of development. Marxists have never invested the concept of an ideal with fantasy or utopian content. In an ideal they see prospective goals and principles, which are derived from the objective laws of social development.

A social ideal is therefore a specific way of comprehending the goals and meaning of being, as well as the means of attaining such goals. It is formulated under concrete historical circumstances on the basis of class needs and interests. It is dependent on the system of social relationships, on the type of social order within which the life activities of mankind are being actualized. Its realism or utopianism depend on the degree to which it truly reflects the interests and needs of the people, of classes, and on the possibilities of satisfying them in society.

Upon the emergence of the working class, a new social ideal emerged which expressed not only the new aspirations of mankind but also the universal trends of social progress. The social ideal of the working class and all working people is communism.

Between the time of proclaiming an ideal and its realization, as we know, there is often a period filled with assiduous organizational and creative activity. But in spite of such efforts, there may exist, and often do exist, certain shortcomings, problems and undeveloped potential. Our ideological opponents exploit just this situation. They compare and contrast the ideals of socialism and communism, which constitute the dominant forces of scientific prognosis of future social order, with the current order. They exaggerate the degree of existing undeveloped potential. They criticize communists, saying they are building their society, which they proclaim to be ideal, by less than ideal means. They endeavor to impose on the communists a kind of "inferiority complex," and "eternal guilt complex."

An unprejudiced, logically thinking and reasoning man has not and does not claim that socialist society is without problems. But at the same time he has never doubted that the future of mankind belongs to socialism and communism.

The communist social ideal, in contrast with previous ideals, proclaims the unity and harmony of individual and societal interests. K. Marx and F. Engels wrote that communism is an association "in which the free development of each individual is the condition for the free development of all."

The content of the communist ideal is being formulated in the processes of the historical development of society and is being realized in the life activities of the people. Marx's communist ideal was based on "a scientific projection of universal, fundamental characteristics of man in a communist society, which builds on scientifically substantiated theoretical and practical premises." Marx's ideal was derived from a realistic view of man and "...is supported by an analysis of motivating social tendencies of the past and the present.... That is why people can recognize themselves in it, be inspired by it and give it a concrete historical content and modes that respond to it. This ideal will be the more determining.... the more man is in charge of his own destiny and his own self as a social being."

The communist ideal cannot be attained at one stroke. Its realization presupposes the achievement of a number of intermediate goals.

During each stage there occurs not only a certain degree of assimilation but also a more precise definition and an enrichment of the content of the communist social ideal. At the same time, its significance lies in the fact that it strengthens the class, scientific world view of man and enables him to wage the struggle against contemporary bourgeois ideology and all forms of opportunism.

Bourgeois ideologists usually interpret an ideal nonhistorically, as an absolute, unchangeable image or goal, which in principle is unobtainable, utopian. They are convinced that capitalism will transform itself into a "consumer society," that capitalism will merge with socialism, thus achieving a truly unified "industrial society." These views mainly presuppose realistic processes at work within capitalism and a unique perception of these processes from the standpoint of class interests of the bourgeoisie. In the nature of

the social ideal of the bourgeoisie and in their anticommunist tendencies are reflected the universal crises of capitalism and the crises of bourgeois ideology.

The communist ideal is in profound contradiction with opportunism and petty bourgeois ideologies, because their goal is to gain privileges in cooperation with the bourgeoisie and solve all the problems of social life through reform. That is why their actual struggle is limited to requests for higher wages, improvement of working conditions, and piecemeal reforms. They often present themselves under a Marxist banner, although they only use Marxism for their own private ownership interests. Together with the ideologists of the bourgeoisie they favor the revision of Marxism. According to them, the struggle for social revolution does not truly correspond to the higher ideals of humaneness--humanism--because it is linked with violence. The ideals of abstract humanism, with their opposition to revolutionary force, in fact serve these interests to justify the exploitation of the working masses.

Leftist, extremist theoreticians are promoting the concept of petty bourgeois communism, romanticization of poverty, negation of efforts by the working masses to improve their social standing, to increase their standard of living. The struggle for the victory of the communist ideal and its incorporation into the praxis of communist development requires an immense struggle against all forms of bourgeois ideology, opportunism, reformism, revisionism, nationalism, and anarchism.

For the comprehension of the dialectics of transition from the recognition of the needs, interests, goals and meaning of being to praxis, the interconnectedness of the social ideal with the social orientation and activities of the people is of great importance. Through social orientation there is manifested, in a comprehensive way, the manner and character of evaluation and the relationship of the self to various social phenomena, processes, other people, social life, nature, and the safeguarding of one's own needs and interests. Such orientation represents the general tendency of the total spiritual world of the self, an understanding of one's place in social life and one's relationship to it, a general direction of activities. The main point of social orientation is to be cognizant of the goals and meaning of life. Social activity then has a solid structure and direction and in a certain sense represents a focused image of the social ideal and social orientation. Therefore, to comprehend the essence, content and forms of manifestation and the direction of social activity is not possible without relating them to the communist ideal and through it to the spiritual world of man as a whole and to individual social orientation.

Social activity is the means of realizing the participation of man in social life in solving problems which confront the class and society in its entirety. It manifests itself in societal work, the direct attitudes toward tasks in the area of economics, politics, spiritual life, toward friends, family, social and personal life. The interconnectedness between the communist ideal and social activity is the main substance of the subjective factors of social development. Socioproductive practical activity is connected with social activity. The life activity of man, class, and society is being realized in

praxis, it functions as an integrated social system. However, the content of communist ideas and social orientation qualifies either a positive or a negative social activity. When the social ideal expresses only the interestedness of certain social forces and classes in maintaining such social relationships that will act as a brake on social progress, the social orientation as well as social activity of such forces will be negative, reactionary. A progressive, positive ideal is represented by intense social activity which is characterized by initiativeness, tenacity, courage, and self-sacrifice.

In the process of building communism and socialism the relationship between the social ideal and social activity takes on specific characteristics. The emergence of a relationship of cooperation and mutual assistance among people liberated from exploitation provides a realistic basis upon which the communist ideal becomes the ideal of society in its entirety. A uniform social orientation and social activity of all members of society is being formulated. The victory of socialism is eliminating the relationships of a class-antagonistic elite and repression; labor on behalf of society is becoming the most important criterion for evaluating man, his qualities and place in society, and is a determining source of safeguards of the material and spiritual needs of the people. Therefore, a social ideal as a specific form of reflection of social life, of being, as a recognition of the goals and meaning of life, has a great impact on all phases of social development. The active role of a social ideal in the development of communism manifests itself mainly in the fact that it influences the formulation of communist morality and socialist way of life.

There is no doubt that the dominant influence on the thinking and activity of our people is Marxist-Leninist ideology and socialist morality. In daily life, however, we encounter actions that do not conform to the requirements of the communist social ideal. We are talking here about the forms and manifestations of provincialism, bribery, theft of socialist property, enrichment at the expense of society, selfishness, a consumerist attitude toward life, about rewards which are not commensurate with the social importance, quality and amount of work performed, etc. That shows, among other things, that a social ideal does not have an automatic, immediate impact on social activity, but acts primarily through the entire system of communist education.

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CZECHOSLOVAKIA

CLASS BIAS SEEN IN CAPITALIST SCIENCE

Prague TVORBA in Czech 16 Jan 85 p 14

[Article by Milan Matous]

[Text] The opening sentences of Lenin's work "Marxism and Revisionism" suggest that people would surely challenge mathematical axioms if these affected their interests. Bourgeois ideologists try even harder to cast doubt on Marxism-Leninism, on socialist ideology, and, in a certain sense, on all science developed in a socialist country.

The class struggle is being waged in the whole range of social sciences, yet it affects also natural, medical and technical sciences. Its philosophical and methodological aspects and social relationships affect sciences in general. Class contingency manifests itself in the different roles and actual tasks that science plays in socialism and in capitalism, in different cognition possibilities of science, and in the social responsibility of the scientist. The fact that we are expanding scientific research in Czechoslovakia, a socialist country, has far-reaching ideological and cognitive consequences.

The more significant, universal, and--from the cognitive point of view--more fundamental the question is, the more influential is the philosophical and methodological approach and respect for concrete social relationships. There is no significant area of science which is not affected in one way or another by the present-day ideological struggle. It certainly does not follow that we should be afraid of contacts with science and scientists from the capitalist parts of the world. It would be naive to make light of or even to repudiate cognition possibilities of science in capitalist countries. No modern science can exist without worldwide information, without contacts, without a certain kind of integration into a global advancement in research. But precisely for the sake of productive communications with scientists in the whole world it is necessary to realize that there are class divisions in the world and that it is impossible for science not to reflect antagonistic class interests. Every scientist must take this fact into account if he does not want to engage in self-deception and possibly become a toy of anticommunist efforts, which permeate sciences just as they do other fields. Visions of some sort of pure science, of guileless esprit de corps among scientists without regard to states and social systems, of possibilities to dissociate scientific knowledge from class approach and ideology, are miles removed from reality.

Since the beginning of the 1980's, certain characteristic tendencies have been appearing in the general ideological atmosphere of the capitalist part of the world. The most marked of these is the rapid rise of reaction, especially because of the influence of the top political office holders in the United States. Neoconservatism is enjoying uncommon backing in political science, philosophy, political economics, and in many other areas. Reactionary tendencies are being projected even into the natural sciences, especially into ideological conclusions and practical social applications of scientific discoveries. The clash between modern scientific knowledge and obscurantist conservative stereotypes is intensifying in the educational system of the capitalistic states, even in the institutions of higher learning. Neoconservatism in theory is being combined with crude anticommunism, anti-Sovietism, chauvinism, even neofascism in propaganda and, above all, in political practice.

This is the main and most explicit ideological tendency of present-day imperialism. Relatively much is being written about it, and it is not unknown. However, at the same time another parallel tendency which should not escape our attention either is getting stronger. The ideological differences within bourgeois ideology are deepening. The ultrareactionary theory and, above all, the reckless political practice of the imperialist governments of the United States, Great Britain, the FRG, and some other states cannot but create embarrassment and anxiety even among the soberly and critically thinking members of the bourgeoisie and bourgeois intelligentsia. This manifests itself in questions of war and peace, in opposition to neocolonialism and to the danger [of losing] the basic precepts of, to be sure, a bourgeois democracy, but a democracy nevertheless.

In a certain sense, one is reminded of the situation that arose in the 1920's and 1940's. The intensification of imperialist conflicts and the rise of militarism affected some of the subjectively finest members of the bourgeois world, supporters of certain ideals of progress, democracy and humanism, like centrifugal forces. Writers and thinkers such as Romain Rolland, Henry Barbusse, E.M. Remarque, Stephan and Arnold Zweig, the brothers Mann and others after World War I, and Jean-Paul Sartre, Arthur Miller, Daniel Boll and a long list of others immediately following World War II proved that in the spiritual realm of even the capitalist world pressure creates antipressure and extremes get polarized. At the present time, the ultrareactionary course of the ruling circles of the United States contributes to such polarization.

Mrs Jeane Kirkpatrick, a representative of neoconservatism in a high governmental position in the United States, published a discourse in the November 1983 issue of the journal ENCOUNTER which is a biting attack on the American intelligentsia. She accuses especially the journalists of misusing their position and of acting "in contradiction to the interests of a representative democracy" and becoming "spokesmen of the Marxist Left." This is how an ultrareactionary sees the American intelligentsia, and specifically the newspapermen, who in reality foster with much zeal a chauvinistic "patriotism" and anticommunism. From the point of view of people like Reagan and Kirkpatrick, though, it is still too little. Hitler locked up in his concentration camps first the communists, then the social democrats, then gradually the more liberal bourgeois politicians and intellectuals, and eventually sent to executioner's



block every head that dared to think independently. From the fascist point of view, all expressions of scholarship, intellect, and science are suspect and smell of the "Marxist Left."

Mrs Kirkpatrick warns against the intelligentsia, who supposedly have an extraordinary tendency to succumb to communism. For a person to be successful in a communist country "one does not need to be rich; one does not need to be high-born; one has to be intelligent, speak intelligibly, be reasonably well-disciplined; one has to possess moral zeal and persistence." Mrs Kirkpatrick does not say so because of sympathy for communism or respect for objective truth. By speaking in favor of imperialism of the cruel reality she shouts for the use of all means against the "communist threat." This is the voice of forces that, in the age of space flights, transplants of human hearts and penetrations into the nucleus of the atom, call anew for the inquisition and the auto da fe with thermonuclear flames. What can be more hostile toward huamism, reason and intelligence?

It is necessary to take notice also of such statements. We come into contact with Western scientists and other intellectuals at many international congresses and scientific meetings. The intensity of the ideological struggle causes many of them to find themselves in a complex dilemma in their own country, in their own society. We offer our hand to every relatively progressive bourgeois scientist, especially in his antiwar and antifascist stand.

Bourgeois propaganda often charges that we isolate ourselves from the Western world, that we oppose "free exchange of ideas and information." A good measure of hypocrisy is necessary for such a claim. Socialist states follow the policy of peaceful coexistence and see an important part of it in rich cultural contacts and exchanges of scientific and cultural values even among countries with opposing social systems. The United States, however, and other states allied with it, have in the last few years used all means to hamper fruitful cultural contacts, complicated passport formalities, misused international organizations, turned international meetings into arenas of mean attacks on and insults to socialist countries.

This is not only an effort to harm socialist states. It is a deliberate, systematic effort that is supposed to isolate Western intelligentsia and society in general from gaining information from the socialist part of the world. The main method of the fight of the bourgeois antisocialist ideology is to make information about the real socialism inaccessible. Lack of information then makes willful misinformation possible. This manifests itself particularly clearly in science. The more reactionary the bourgeois government, the greater the effort to build an iron curtain against the ideas, culture and science of socialist states and turn all intellectual contacts into a "one-way street." Scientific contacts are desirable only as long as they serve the injection of bourgeois ideology into socialism. The system of intellectual prohibition in Western states results in the fact that, as a rule, not even social scientists--with the exception of specialists in anti-Soviet and anticommunist institutes--are familiar with the scholarly literature of socialist countries; they do not know even the basic peace proposals and political documents of the USSR, Czechoslovakia and other socialist states. The prejudices against real socialism that many so-called intellectuals in the West have are on the level

of slogans of mass propaganda. While in our country every novice research assistant has to pass examinations even in Western languages, in the West people, even social-scientific theoreticians, who can read, for instance, something in the Russian original are an exception. The mediators between the intellectual output of socialist countries and the Western intellectual world are then mostly political emigrants. This in itself gives an indication of how "objective" such information is.

Because of this state of affairs, every true piece of information about our situation, about our science, culture and art that reaches the capitalist world is of considerable importance. Every presentation of one of our scientists at an international forum, every proof by an expert of the advancement of research in socialist Czechoslovakia, no matter how apolitical the subject may appear to be, plays besides everything else an ideological role. The bourgeois propaganda is creating a stereotyped image of Czechoslovakia, claiming that we are some sort of a downtrodden and occupied country, a "cultural desert" in which conditions for free intellectual life are missing. Each of our contributions which inspires respect for the level of Czechoslovak science and culture in an international forum helps disperse such myths and plays a positive political role.

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CZECHOSLOVAKIA

NATIONAL FRONT APPEALS FOR FOREST PROTECTION

AU152115 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 14 Feb 85 p 1

[CTK report: "Care for Forest Protection"]

[Text] Prague (CTK)--The Central Committee Presidium of the CSSR National Front convened yesterday [13 Feb] in Prague. In the presence of Karol Laco, CSSR deputy premier, it discussed government plans for elaborating the principles of the National Front election programs for the period 1986-90.

The Presidium also discussed and adopted an appeal in which it calls upon all bodies and organizations of the National Front to devote primary attention to the extremely serious all-social task of ensuring the protection and cultivation of forests.

The appeal states: Esteemed fellow citizens, women and men comrades, the forests represent a great wealth of our socialist fatherland. They are basically contributing to the citizens' health and to the purity of the environment in which we live; they are of considerable economic significance; they serve recreation and relaxation; and they are an irreplaceable component of our beauties of nature.

The all-round care for the forests is therefore becoming the primary all-social duty, particularly so at present, when our forests have been seriously damaged by the two natural catastrophes last year and by the new catastrophe this year.

We therefore address to all bodies of the National Front, and also to the organizations rallied in it, the appeal to purposefully influence their members, so that our citizens would fully understand the significance of the forest in all its functions--the cultivatory, production, water economy, and recreational functions--and so that they would contribute, through the work of their members, toward protecting and preserving the forests.

In fulfilling this beneficial task it is necessary to direct particular attention to clearing the damaged areas of dead twigs and extraction residues; to reafforesting the cleaned areas; to cultivating seedlings in forest nurseries; to protecting the forest against vermin; and to other work, above all work connected with cleaning up the forests.

We are convinced that all bodies and organizations of the National Front and all their members will grasp the urgent nature of this demand; and that systematic care for the protection and preservation of the forests will become a matter of their joint social responsibility.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

CATHOLIC PACEM IN TERRIS OFFICIAL INTERVIEWED

AU121835 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 7 Feb 85 p 1

[Interview given by newly elected chairman of the Pacem in Terris Association of Catholic Clergy in the CSSR, General Vicar Frantisek Vymetal, to RUDE PRAVO correspondent Jaroslav Mazal: "To Protect the Sacred Gift of Life"]

[Text] Following the conclusion of the Third National Congress of the Pacem in Terris Association of Catholic Clergy, we asked Professor Frantisek Vymetal, doctor of theology, general vicar of the Olomouc Archepiscopate, and dean of the Cyril and Methodius School of Divinity in Litomerice, who is the new chairman of the association's Federal Committee, for an interview; we asked him three questions:

[Mazal] What do you consider to be the primary task of Association of Catholic Clergy from the viewpoint of the noble intention expressed in its name, Pacem in Terris, which means: Peace on Earth?

[Vymetal] The Encyclical of John XXIII, Pacem in Terris, opened new scope for the Christian peace initiative. The involvement of our association is based on our mission; it is part of it. Were we to neglect or to omit it, we would commit a sin. Life is the greatest value for us, and we regard life as a sacred gift. The greatest threat to life is war. We are led to peace work also by the new kind of weapon which, were it to be used, could bring the end of life on earth. We do not want this cataclysm to threaten mankind; and that is why we support all the disarmament proposals which are submitted by our own country, by the Soviet Union, and by other Socialist states. The means which are being spent today for armament could be used far more suitably for the benefit of all mankind.

[Mazal] Can you characterize more precisely the impact and purpose of the current endeavors exerted by the organized peace movement of the Catholic clergy, which rallies the patriotic priests of our two nations?

[Vymetal] We feel that--apart from the already mentioned intensified work for peace, in which we will cooperate with other peace organizations, both religious and civil, and both at home and abroad, in the way we have cooperated to date--we also have other duties, as citizens of our socialist fatherland. We love it, we are happy about the progress achieved by it during the

40 years of postwar life. Together with all our fellow citizens we recall, in a dignified way, the beginnings of this path as represented by the end of World War II. The victory was paid for by great sacrifices, made by the citizens of the Soviet Union and also of other nations, obviously also our own nations. We know that a state that prospers in the economic sense, which is united in itself, also has greater weight. And it can make a yet greater contribution toward resolving the many problems existing in the world.

[Mazal] It is no secret that the supremely noble and meritorious endeavors of your association do not encounter, always and everywhere, the understanding and sympathy they should--particularly not from some of the Western centers and emigre circles....

[Vymetal] From the position given us in our society by the status of our association, we will support the further upsurge of our beautiful fatherland--a country which we say is both blessed and fertile, which has internal riches, and a people that has never conducted an aggressive war in its entire long and rich history. We will continue this activity, in spite of the spiteful stands voiced against us. Herein we also see the means of contributing from our own viewpoint toward making the relations between the church and the state even better in the future, so that the issues that are still open can be resolved in negotiations between our state and the Holy See for the benefit of both sides.

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CZECHOSLOVAKIA

BRIEFS

CEMA PRAGUE TASKS VIEWED--Today the Presidium of the Czech National Council discussed the report on carrying out tasks following from the CEMA economic summit in the spheres under the control of the Czech government. In the presence of Antonin Kapek, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and first secretary of the Prague City Committee of the party, and Mayor Frantisek Stafa, the Presidium also discussed the fulfillment of the tasks for progress in Prague. It noted that thanks to the care of party and state bodies in the past few years significant progress has been achieved. However, unceasing attention ought to be concentrated on persisting shortcomings especially in capital investment; in reconstruction and modernization of Prague industry; in guaranteeing preventive medical care as well as treatments; in repairing, maintenance, and modernization of housing fund. The Czech National Council and its deputies will pay nonstop heed to planned development in Prague and take part in the fulfillment of the related tasks. Today's session of the Czech National Council's Presidium met under its chairman, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member Josef Kempny. [Text] [Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1600 GMT 12 Feb 85 LD]

PARTY LEADER ACTIVITIES--Peter Colotka, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and Slovak premier, received in Bratislava today prominent Slavists from 12 European countries participating in the International Commission for the History of Slavic Studies session. In his speech he highly praised the results of the work of Slavists which contribute to better knowledge, exchange of cultural values and to cultivating mutual respect and understanding between peoples. He underlined that Slavic studies as a complex of social science disciplines has its rich traditions and plays also in our times an important scientific and social-political role. [Text] [Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1900 GMT 14 Feb 85 LD]

PARTY ACTIVITIES--Jinkrich Polednik, CPCS Central Committee Secretary, received today the secretary general of the International Oswiecim Committee, Lucjan Motyka. In a friendly discussion they assessed the participation of anti-fascist organizations in the fight for peace to avert nuclear war. They emphasized in this connection that contemporary neo-fascism and revanchism demanding the revision of borders in Europe, presents a serious danger to the protection of peace. [Text] [Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1900 GMT 14 Feb 85 LD]

BRITISH MINERS HOLD TALKS--London--Vladimir Polednik, chairman of the Central Committee of the Trade Union of Workers in the Mining and Power Industry, and Peter Heathfield, secretary general of the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) conferred in London on Thursday [14 February] about the further development of cooperation between Czechoslovak and British miners. V. Polednik conveyed to P. Heathfield the sympathy of Czechoslovak miners and other working people with the courageous struggle of the striking British miners. He also extended an invitation of Czechoslovak trade unionists that, similarly as last year, also this year a group of striking miners with their families spend a free vacation in the CSSR. The NUM secretary general expressed cordial thanks to the Czechoslovak working people for their solidarity with British miners and for the invitation. He said that the miners' families that were in the CSSR on vacation last year took away the best impressions. [CTK correspondent's report: "On Cooperation Between Czechoslovak and British Miners"] [Text] [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 16 Feb 85 p 7 AU]

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

NEW PEOPLE'S NAVY LANDING SHIPS DESCRIBED

East Berlin VOLKSARMEE in German No 50, 1984" (signed to press 10 Dec 84) p 8

[Article by Lt Col Wilfried Kopenhagen: "Landing Ships of the People's Navy"]

[Text] In order to load or unload troops with tanks and combat vehicles along coastal sections not equipped for the purpose, special-purpose structures with hydraulic landing ramps in the bow were built--the landing ships. They are capable of moving troops and technology by water and to assume special tasks. They are indispensable aids for difficult transports near the coast. In addition, they are also suited for resupply purposes, for mine-laying, and for security tasks, e.g., for outpost duty.

The First Generation: Landing Boats

Our naval forces were not yet equipped with any landing vehicles in the year the National People's Army was founded. Only from the summer of 1961 on, twelve type "LaBo" landing boats built by the GDR shipbuilding industry --also referred to as small landing ships or Project 46--entered the inventory. Typical for these craft was the landing ramp covering the entire width of the bow and the two 25mm twin-barreled guns installed before the bridge (for additional details see the WT [Wehrtechnik] encyclopedia on this page). Two T-34 or four ASU-85 airborne tanks, driven backwards, could be taken aboard.

Although the seagoing performance of the small landing ships was not particularly good, and the accommodations for the 15 crew members were rather modest, they were nevertheless well-liked. They could be berthed in any small port, and any river arm could be utilized. It was not least because of these attributes that the "LaBo" type was repeatedly used, even during its active service time, for economic measures. Although long since taken out of active service in the People's Navy, it is still used for various auxiliary tasks in a civilian capacity (see VOLKSARMEE 51/83, p 8: Landing Boat with a New Look). Equipment in the landing boats included one TSR-222 radar, one R-109 VHF radio, and one short wave radio. One ton of drinking water and 18 tons of diesel fuel were taken on board.

## "Robben" ["Seals"] with City Names

Several years after type "LaBo"--from 1964/65 on--six medium landing ships of type "Robbe," likewise built at one of our shipyards, entered service. These ships were named after midsized cities of the GDR: Eberswalde, Eisenhuettenstadt, Grimmen, Hoyerswerda, Luebben, and Schwedt.

The "Robbe" type landing craft was first introduced in 1963 during preparations for a maneuver by the combined Baltic Sea fleets. These landing ships, with a cargo space extending from stem to stern and covering an area of circa 500 m<sup>2</sup>, could accommodate a motorized rifle company with equipment, or heavy wheeled and tracked vehicles. The vehicles were driven forward via a ramp into the hold, where they had to turn around, a process which placed great demands on the drivers and their interaction with the personnel directing their movement.

A lowerable deck hatch made it possible to move vehicles and guns topside in order to increase the payload. The crews of the vehicles being transported could sleep in the hammocks located along the sides of the hold. For the 35-man crew of the landing ships, which in the meantime have been taken out of service and are used in part as surface targets, favorable working and living conditions were available. Equipment included VHF and short wave radios as well as a TRS-333 radar.

The "Robbe" had increased armament compared to the "LaBo." It consisted of two 25mm antiaircraft guns on twin mounts on the bridge superstructures and one 57mm universal gun on a twin mount on the forecastle. On the aft one-fourth of the ship were the bridge superstructures with the lattice mast. Like those of the "LaBo," the crews of the "Robbe" landing ships demonstrated their high level of ability and the performance of their craft in many exercises with the combined fleets.

## The New Generation

From the mid-1970's on, the "Robbe" was replaced by a new generation of medium landing ships. This currently operational type is likewise a product of the GDR shipbuilding industry. Aside from the compact deck superstructures on the stern, with antennas not yet present on the predecessor model--for example for fire control--the fairing of the landing ramp with its streamlining elements is a characteristic feature of the current type of landing ship of the People's Navy. With this design, the shipbuilders achieved improved seaworthiness, and the engine output can be put to better use. With the help of the capstan, vehicles and guns can be pulled upward via a lowerable hatch and lashed to the upper deck.

On these ships, which are likewise named after cities, not only the living and working conditions of the crews were improved, but also those of the transported personnel, for whom especially spacious lounge decks with tables and benches are available. In addition to communications and IFF gear, the equipment includes radars for the prevention of collisions, for airspace surveillance, and for fire control.

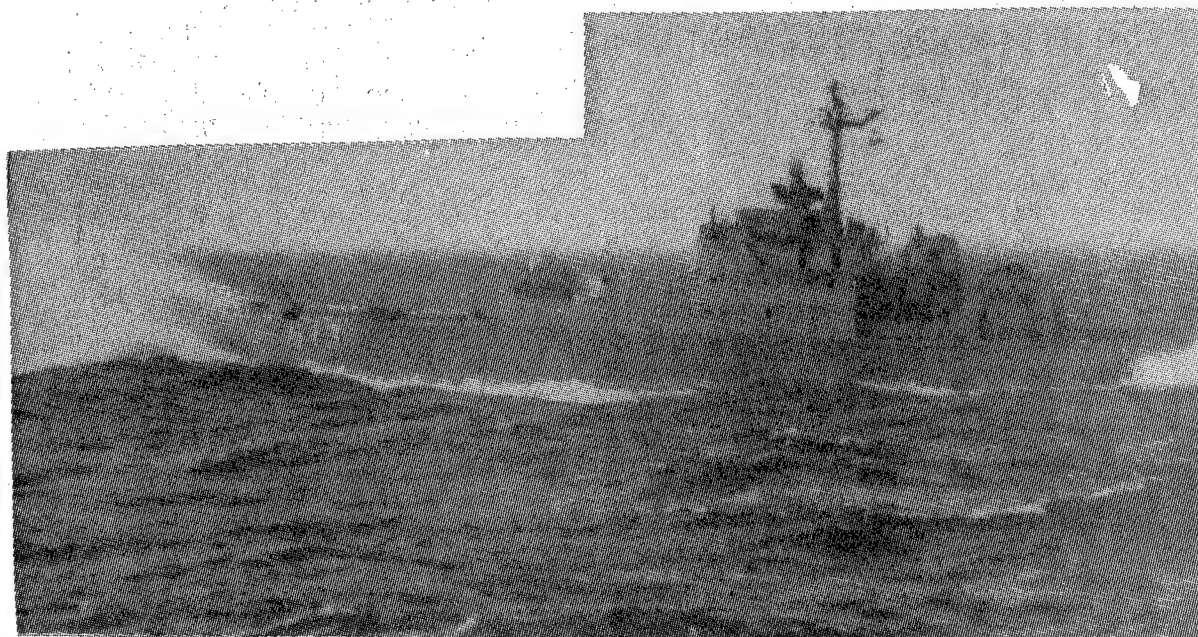


This ship type is available in versions with and without rocket launchers and also as combat support ships. The rocket launcher-equipped ships can engage coastal targets during the landing phase, and the ships not so equipped are capable, in addition to their transport and outpost duties, of laying mines.

The combat support ships, on the other hand, are responsible for transporting military cargo, supply combat ships under combat conditions, or serve as floating repair bases.

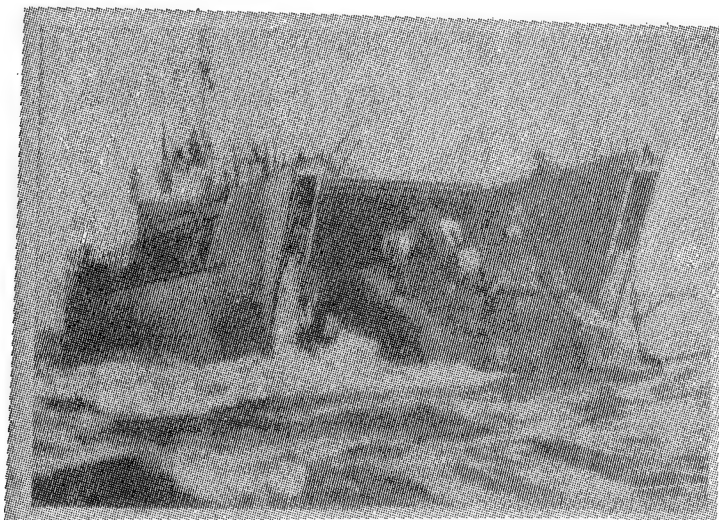
The crews of all these ships have repeatedly demonstrated their mastery of all tactical and technical capabilities of their modern craft, as well as their ability to fulfill all assigned tasks for the preservation of peace.

Reduced to the simplest terms, the new generation of People's Navy landing ships can be characterized as more seaworthy, faster, and more combat-effective than their predecessors.

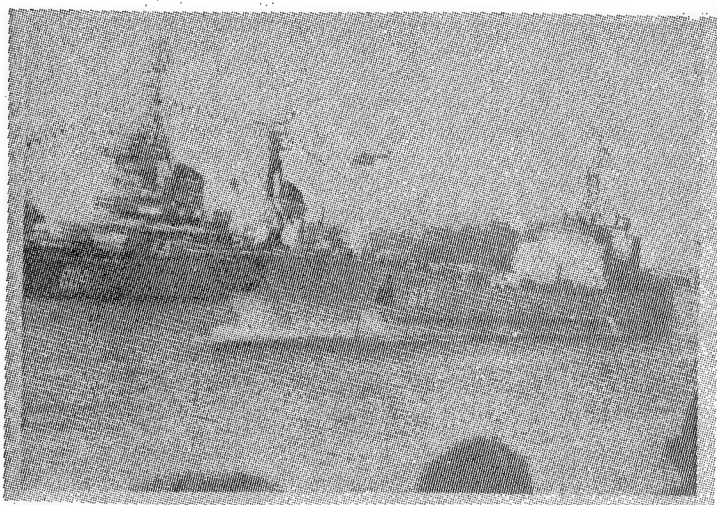


The third generation--a landing ship of the People's Navy of today





The first generation--landing boat of type "LaBo"



Ten years ago--landing ship "Robbe" on parade in Rostock; in the background the Soviet cruiser "Sverdlov"

Photos: Archive, MBD, VA/Kopenhagen

12689

CSO: 2300/252

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

FOLKLORE REVIVAL TO STRENGTHEN BONDS TO HOMELAND

West Berlin DER TAGESSPIEGEL in German 28 Dec 84 p 3

/Article by M. Mara: "German Folklore Nurtured in the GDR"/

/Text/ Years ago there were discussions in the GDR concerning the question whether the time had come to do away with Santa Claus. It was suggested that he be replaced by Russia's "Father Frost." Some of the people who were responsible for the education of the GDR youth felt that the whip-cracking Santa Claus was ideologically and pedagogically not suitable. In view of socialist principles and goals of education, the old man with the white beard was dismissed as an anachronism. To be sure, somewhat later it became apparent that their judgment was premature.

Because Santa Claus was never more popular in the socialist German state than he is today. During the Advent and Christmas season he is making numerous appearances: at Christmas fairs, which can be found even in small GDR towns, in kindergarten, schools and department stores. In many families he is the one who distributes the gifts to the children, unless the "VEB Erzgebirgische Festartikel" /Erzgebirge State Enterprise holiday items/ spoils everything. It is the only company in the GDR which manufactures Santa Claus masks, but it is unable to meet the demand. It takes a lot of luck to find a mask in one of the stores that carry items of that nature.

There are other Christmas customs that have not lost in popularity in the workers' and peasants' state. An old tradition is still alive in certain areas: Christmas figures holding lights are placed in the windows. In the Erzgebirge they are primarily miners and angels, in the Vogtland and the adjacent Thuringen they are the so-called mossdwellers. The ancient custom of carving Christmas lightholders of this kind has been resumed.

This step symbolizes a remarkable development in the GDR. Between the Elbe and the Oder, German folklore is experiencing a unique renaissance which is officially and openly sanctioned and promoted. Because the East Berlin leadership realized that a stronger interest in national and regional traditions as well as the observance of old practices and customs are definitely conducive to producing a stronger consciousness of the homeland and a feeling for the homeland of GDR citizens.

As early as 1980, Party Chief Honecker spoke in favor of the observance of local and regional traditions because they "are part of our national identity and of the progressive and humanistic history of our people." He made no secret of the fact that it could be a factor in strengthening the citizens' bonds with their city or region and increasing their wellbeing in the socialist German state.

Furthermore, the SED's determination "not to yield 1 inch of the national cultural heritage" to the FRG in the dispute between the systems also applies in this case. According to Professor Helmut Hanke, a cultural theoretician of the SED, it makes no difference whether the traditions go back to the Middle Ages or whether they stem from the 18th and 19th centuries or the 1920's and whether the scene represents the "current territory of the GDR or other German regions."

In accordance with this line, during the last few years old traditions have been "dug up" and retrieved everywhere in the GDR, for instance, many national festivals that had been forgotten and the customs of which go back many centuries. One example is the renaissance of the "meadow dance," which was celebrated in many areas during the hay harvest. Last summer, the inhabitants of Emstal (count of Potsdam) celebrated for the first time a "baker's oven festival." In the center was the local tradition of baking bread together in the open air. One of three historical baker's ovens of the village was reconstructed and it is used to prepare the Christmas meal in public.

Organizations that are contributing a great deal to the preservation of native traditions are the so-called folklore centers and workshops for folklore in GDR counties. They uncovered many customs and traditions, songs and dances that had been forgotten. But that is not all. They are concerned with incorporating these traditions into the everyday life and providing guidance for the folklore and folk-art groups.

The Thuringen folklore center on Erfurt's Karl-Marx-Allee, for instance, put together a documentation system which is open to all interested persons. They in turn, can go there to find inspiration concerning many things, from an authentic Thuringen wedding to a native festival. There are five workers at the center, among them three scientists, and they have their hands full, because the interest in old customs, in Thuringen's folklore is growing, which is also reflected in the great demand for publications dealing with the subject.

The same is true for areas outside of Thuringen. "The demand for Low German events and the interest in regional folklore in general has been increasing steadily for years," Horst Dethloff stated. He is the director of the workshop group for folklore in Schwerin. In the Neubrandenburg Hotel "Vier Tore," regularly scheduled "Low German Evenings" are booked solidly up to 6 months in advance.

Another remarkable thing is the fact that events relative to native customs are increasingly attended by young people. "Folklore dance evenings" for young people that take place in the above-mentioned Erfurt center are completely

sold out every time. Among the participating groups are two folkloric music ensembles who provide the mood and also, in keeping with old customs, dance leaders. More and more young GDR citizens are joining folklore groups or researching the customs and traditions of their homeland in special workshops.

Nevertheless, it has nothing to do with a superficial, sentimental feeling for the homeland; rather, it is a need to find out more about the national and regional history, about the customs and traditions of their native land. Historians and folklorists admit that the pent-up demand is considerable. According to a GDR investigation concerning this topic, there has been a "lack of clarity" when it comes to decisions on "whether traditional lines can be continued and if so in which form and whether they are compatible with socialism." Due to this unfavorable climate many traditions passed more and more into oblivion or were suppressed.

Today it is no longer the case, although there are voices who are warning of an uncritical acceptance and circulation of traditional folklore. In SONNTAG, a politico-cultural GDR weekly, a rebuttal appeared, rejecting the opinion that folklore is altogether progressive and worthy of being preserved and demanding a critical approach to the acceptance of folklore from the viewpoint of current social developments, keeping in mind the influences of the "ruling class."

8991

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

CONCERN ABOUT LEFT-WING EXTREMISM IN WEST EXPRESSED

East Berlin HORIZONT in German Vol 18 No 1, Jan 85 pp 10-11

[Article by Dr N. Madloch: "Change and Continuity in Left-Wing Extremism of the '80s"]

[Text] Compared to the previous decade, several changes have taken place during the past years in the left-wing extremism of the capitalist world. Without renouncing their petit bourgeois-revolutionary basic ideas in general, a number of the left-wing radical groups existing today have modified to some extent their views on the relationship of war and peace in our time, and on the role played by the masses in the societal conflicts of our day. Left-wing extremist forces frequently participate today in the struggle to prevent a nuclear world war; they actively fight against the renewed growth of neo-Fascist organizations in their countries, and they endeavor to intervene more strongly in the social conflicts in the capitalist states.

Re-examination of Untenable Positions

The causes of such a development can be found, above all, in

--the increased danger of a thermonuclear war due to the arms build-up and confrontation policy of the most reactionary circles in the United States and other NATO states, and the development of the international peace movement on a broad social, political and ideological base never seen before;

--the aggravating social and political contradictions in the imperialist system. Many adherents of left-wing extremism are directly and personally affected by the consequences of the general and growing crisis of capitalism, the effects of the cyclical crisis, and the increasing political reaction in the various imperialist countries;

--the development of many new social and democratic movements in the imperialist industrial states, and the upswing of democratic people's movements in many developing countries;

--the deep political and ideological crisis of identity and orientation into which various leftist-radical groups had fallen during the second half of the '70's. At that time, many of them lost a large number of their members and adherents. Many of the groups which dominated that decade, such as the pseudo-"KPD" in the FRG, "Lotta Continua" ("the fight goes on") in Italy, and others, in the meantime have disappeared from the political scene. Only groups of the diverse variants of anarchism and anarchist syndicalism managed during those years to hold their adherents together, or even expand their numbers somewhat.

This situation caused many representatives of left-wing extremism to re-examine their present positions, to adjust to changed conditions of existence, and to reconsider their future policies and activities. In order to put a halt to the total waning of their influence--numerically very limited, anyway--in the imperialist countries, most of these groups shifted their field of action primarily to the various contemporary democratic mass movements. In view of the very heterogeneous character of these movements, left-wing extremist forces managed in part to break out of their political isolation.

#### Changed Conditions, New Image

When we speak of left-wing extremism at this time, we are dealing in the capitalist world not only with the easily identified groups of anarchists or with adherents of the ultra-leftist theses of Mao Zed Dong, which are rejected today by the Chinese Communist party. We are dealing with a colorful spectrum of "undogmatic leftists," from Trotskyites to anarchist feminists to representatives of anarchist terrorists. Many left-wing extremist groups now also appear with names no longer immediately identifiable. They often act as autonomous action, youth or women's groups, frequently no longer openly call themselves anarchists, but rather "libertarian socialists" or "council communists."

Similar to anarchism and Trotskyism, a left-wing extremist movement has formed in the FRG which orients itself dogmatically along the lines of the "great Proletarian cultural revolution" of the years 1966-1975 in the People's Republic of China. Among them belongs the "Marxist-Leninist Party of Germany" (MLPD) which evolved in 1982 from the "Communist Workers' League of Germany." It not only imputes that the CEMA countries have restored capitalism, it also talks about capitalist power conditions in the present-day People's Republic of China. The MLPD is at present one of the largest left-wing extremist groups in the FRG, whereby the term "large" is relative.

Characteristic of the entire third phase of the general crisis of capitalism is, among other things, a rapid change of forms in the image of left-wing extremism. While the sixties were primarily characterized by growing left-wing extremism in the so-called anti-authoritarian wing of the broad anti-imperialist student movement, which found its expression in the emphatic claim of a special revolutionary role for the intelligentsia and social fringe groups in the class struggles of our time, after the failure of the "anti-authoritarians" at the end of the sixties and beginning of the seventies a

great variety of left-wing radical groups of the most divergent ideological views sprang up. They were distinguished by turning verbally toward a revolutionary-idealized concept of the working class in capitalist countries. During the mid-seventies, there existed in the FRG, France, Great Britain and other imperialist states more than 50 such groups with hundreds of newspapers and journals, in which each group made the exclusive claim of being the only "revolutionary avant garde of the proletariat." When during the second half of the seventies a new chapter of the general crisis of capitalism became quite evident and the illusory ideas of many left-wing extremist groups of an impending, immediate "revolutionary overthrow of capitalism" proved to be wishful thinking, many of these groups suffered a political hangover. Their followers began to look for a new political home base. So-called Sponti groups in the FRG and the "autonomists" in France and Italy, all of which glorified unbridled spontaneity and adopted many elements of anarchism as well as of a bourgeois philosophy of life, managed to attract considerable numbers at that time.

### The Search for New Forms of Action

Although most of the left-wing extremist groups lost many members and followers during the seventies, this must not obscure the fact that the active nuclei of these groups generally remain in existence. They continue to be active and today try above all to expand their influence in the new democratic movements. True, in all left-wing extremist groups there continues the permanent tendency toward differentiation and splintering. At the same time, there are stronger endeavors during the eighties to unite the most divergent left-wing extremist groups in alliances, or to push ahead on fusing groups in larger organizations. Especially French leadership circles of Trotskyism are making great efforts at the moment to get to one table Trotskyites in France and other countries of the capitalist world, which are splintered into seven or eight international directions. In the FRG, before the parliamentary elections of 1983, several left-wing extremist groups--from the "KPD/ML," "MLPD," Trotskyites, to anarchist syndicalists--attempted to form an election coalition which failed in the end. Such election coalitions across all left-wing radical movements have existed in Peru for some time.

Some of the petit bourgeois-revolutionary groups are still trying to distinguish themselves from the unified trade union organizations of their countries through actions in order to gain new adherents. By manipulating the workers' dissatisfaction with the policies of right-wing trade union functionaries, Trotskyites at Volvo in Malmo, Sweden, managed to get important positions in the factory. In the FRG, also, the "Revolutionary Trade Union Opposition" ("RGO"), directed by the KPD/ML, through the same modus operandi managed to conquer or defend, respectively, works council seats during the works council elections in the spring of 1984 in some of the large plants particularly hard hit by structural crises. Frequently the left-wing extremist groups of the major imperialist countries concentrate such activities on the foreign workers from less industrialized states, who are especially discriminated against socially and politically. Some also publish special newspapers in the native tongues of these working-class groups residing in the United States, Great



Britain, France, and other countries. In this respect, the KPD/ML is particularly active in the FRG, who for a long time had special pages of its newspaper ROTER MORGEN [Red Morning] printed in the Turkish language and who, since 1983, has gone on to distributing the Turkish language paper KIZIL SAFAK.

Even greater influence in the trade union area than in capitalist Europe is exercised by left-wing extremist forces in Latin America, where in some countries they dominate entire trade unions. All these activities have contributed to the situation where in several capitalist countries left-wing extremist groups were able to again stabilize their portion and to gain new members.

#### Realistic Tendencies in the Peace Question

The most significant change in left-wing extremist thinking today has occurred with regard to the peace question. The negation or contempt of the struggle for peace, characteristic in early years, and the glorification of war--even war with nuclear weapons--as the trigger of revolutions hardly exists any more. In contrast to the sixties and seventies, left-wing extremist groups now consider prevention of a nuclear missile war a priority concern of their own. Many of these forces have integrated with the peace movements of their countries; a peace movement with a wide political and ideological spectrum. They participate in the work of local, regional, and central peace initiatives.

Such a shift in the political position of left-wing extremist forces is, however, not primarily a result of new theoretical insights. It is above all a reaction to the mass movement against the aggressive rearmament and confrontation course of the Reagan administration, and against the NATO decision on deployment of new U.S. medium-range missiles in Western Europe. It is noteworthy that in West European countries it is also moderate left-wing forces who pronounce with great clarity that the militarist circles of the United States and NATO are chiefly responsible for the ominous deterioration of the international situation.

Some left-wing extremist groups have also begun to realize that their own conditions of existence and expansion have worsened due to the increased aggressiveness of the most reactionary circles of imperialism and the neo-conservative turn in domestic and economic policy of a number of imperialist states. This has led them to a more realistic appraisal of the peace policy of the Soviet Union, the GDR, and other states of the socialist community. Thus one could read in the Hamburg paper ARBEITERKAMPF, published by the so-called Communist League of the FRG: "The NATO war policy makes the Soviet Union an objective ally of the peace movement in this country. Whoever propagates and provokes a division of the peace movement over this question must be prepared for the question whose interests he represents..." (19 December 1984). And a representative of anarchist pacifism stated after a trip to the Soviet Union: "The key to disarmament lies in the fight against NATO rearmament" (Ibid, 7 May 1984).

## Great Barriers in the Process of Perception

This decline in the effect of the imperialist legend of [the Soviet] threat and in certain anti-Soviet attitudes is not typical for all left-wing extremist groups, however. These forces have also not yet fully accepted the policy, pursued by the socialist countries, of peaceful coexistence with countries having different social orders. Left-wing extremist positions on the struggle against the danger of a nuclear world war mostly continue to be combined with inimical statements against the societal system in the countries of real socialism and the policy of Communist parties. Many left extremist ideologues continue unabatedly, trying to confuse the peace movement politically with the libelous thesis of "equal responsibility of the two super powers for the tensions in the world," denouncing the USSR as "social-imperialist super power," and spreading the rightist slogan of "overcoming the system of Yalta and Potsdam as a prerequisite for a European peace order" in order to force the peace movement in Western countries into a different political direction. Such concepts are detrimental to the peace movement; as Manfred Feist stated, they obfuscate "the responsibility of the aggressive circles in the United States and NATO for the tensing of the situation and dim the perception for the danger of the militaristic course of continued rearmament and the crusade against socialism." (EINHEIT, Berlin 1984, Nr 4, p 282)

In connection with the discussions--after the start-up of deployment of U.S. first-strike weapons in Western Europe at the end of 1983--on the further direction and the next tasks of the peace movement, exponents of left-wing extremist opinions increased their activities. They tried to force exaggerated and politically impossible demands on the movement. Adoption of such positions would have meant driving politically important circles out of the peace movement, thereby weakening it considerably. Prior to this, left-wing extremist groups had watched participation in the peace movement by forces from bourgeois, and even social democratic and socialist parties, with the utmost suspicion; occasionally it was even depicted as a "betrayal" of the peace movement.

It also came to violent debates in that area of the peace movement in which left-wing extremists cooperated in particular, when some of them expressed the opinion that the peace movement had "lost its teeth" because of its new social, political, and ideological breadth: "Enough of 'masses' and 'breadth,' the time for radicalism has come" (ROTOR MORGEN, Dortmund, 18 November 1983). The right-wing media picked up such demands quickly in order to distort the image of the peace movement in public and to advocate its splintering. The chairman of the DKP, Herbert Mies, countered the representatives of such ideas of "radicalism" at the VII. Party Congress of the German Communist Party in January 1984: "Whoever understands radicalism as attacking evil at its roots, should also understand that the evil of the danger of nuclear war can only be eliminated with the help of broad masses of the people. The most radical movement is still the one that grips the masses. Broadening the base and radicalism are not a contradiction."

## A Passing Phase in Real Life

Despite the bankruptcy of left-wing extremism, younger people in particular, because of political inexperience and youthful impatience, fall for its ideas. The heightened crises of capitalism, especially continued high unemployment among the young, recognition of the contradiction between high promises and the disappointing reality of bourgeois democracy as well as the more clearly felt exploitation of man and nature by large monopolies, time and again attract sympathies to left-wing extremist ideologues with their promises of a rapid revolutionary change in the capitalist states. This is directly linked to the fact that young people, who subjectively and honestly turn away from imperialism, do not with such a step automatically overcome anti-communism and anti-Sovietism with which they had been indoctrinated. For this reason, their anti-imperialism often is still linked with strong reservations vis-à-vis real socialism and the Communist parties. Objectively, this creates recruitment opportunities for left-wing extremism, since quite a few of these young people see a specially radical form of protest and anti-capitalist resistance in these anti-imperialist as well as anti-Communist slogans, and in the utopian-revolutionist visions of left-wing extremist ideologues.

This constant possibility of revival of left-wing extremist activities requires one, in the political-ideological confrontation with left-wing extremism, to always distinguish between deliberate representatives of anti-Communist "leftist" concepts and risky practices on the one hand, and searching young people straying toward left-wing extremism on the other hand. As experiences of recent times confirm, ultra-leftist revolutionism--by its nature petit bourgeois--does not have to become a life-long political and ideological attitude among its members, adherents and sympathizers; in real life, it is often only a passing phase on the road to other political viewpoints. Experience also shows that learning processes and political ideological clarification processes may take hold of entire groups, including their leadership. As a reminder, one should mention here the frequently changed political views of the MIR parties in Latin America, the gradual shift in the "Progressive Organization of Switzerland" (POCH), and the transformation of the "Lanka Party of Justice" in Sri Lanka from a Trotskyite organization into a left socialist party.

The possibilities for such political-ideological turning points, at least today, can be traced back to the following factors:

1. The effect of objective development processes on the forces of left-wing extremism, and above all the changes in relative international strength, as well as the dynamics and forms of confrontation between socialism and imperialism;
2. The experiences which left-wing extremist circles gain through participation in actions of political battle and which often prove convincingly the incorrectness of radical left theories and concepts.
3. The effects and aftereffects of political-ideological and theoretical confrontations of Marxist-Leninist forces with left-wing extremism.

## Polemic with Two Tasks

Continuity as well as changes in the left-wing extremism of the eighties emphasize the need for further political-ideological confrontation with radical left theories and activities. Despite partial modifications in the petit bourgeois revolutionism, one must never overlook the deep political-ideological and theoretical divergences between left-wing extremism on the one hand, and Marxism-Leninism and the communist world movement on the other. For this reason it is important to point out to radical left forces that it is their very "radicalism" which stands in the way of a full development of their anti-imperialist potential. It is obvious today that left-wing extremism has attained a different position in the political concepts of the monopolistic bourgeoisie and its political parties. While in the past it was largely only tolerated, it now holds a firm place in the strategies of imperialist circles who use left-wing extremism as a diversionary force against the international influence of socialist states, against the growing communist world movement, even against the protest of a considerable part of the young generation against the establishment. Quite a few of their political and ideological representatives are of the opinion that radical left groups are necessary--as the FRG newspaper DIE WELT wrote on 10 March 1983--in order to serve "as a catch basin for non-integrable forces." It is expected that the left-wing extremists will paralyze these forces politically so that later, when they are disappointed by their petit bourgeois revolutionism, they can be tied back into the system. In addition, many imperialist ideologues and publicists often fall back on arguments of the radical left in order to make their anti-communism "more convincing."

As past decades have shown, the procedures of the two major wings of the monopolistic bourgeoisie in using left-wing extremism are not identical.

While more flexible circles tend to uphold radical left groups as "leftist crown witnesses" against real socialism and Communist parties as well as anti-imperialist forces trying to work at misdirection, the conservative wing with its coarser anti-communist concept is less interested in the existence of left-wing extremist groups, but rather in pseudo-leftist inciters in order to produce with their help anti-communist bugaboos and fear of the Communist menace as justification for their reactionary policies. But since the two major variants of rule, as stated by V.I. Lenin, seldom occur in their pure forms in the monopolistic bourgeoisie, one must also expect in future that imperialism will employ the most varied and different methods of using left-wing extremism.

Lastly, the need for confrontation with left-wing extremism arises from the fact that increasing crisis developments in the capitalist world time and again reproduce and expand the objective breeding ground for left-wing extremist ideas. As early as 1921, V.I. Lenin pointed out that petit bourgeois reformism and petit bourgeois revolutionism "are unavoidable as long as the deepest roots of capitalism have not been eradicated."

At present, the polemic with left radicalism must fulfill two closely inter-connected tasks: for one, to effectively counter all ultra-leftist ideas which hinder the struggle for securing peace; for another, to help people of the most varied motivations, particularly young people, to avoid the often bitter error of left-wing extremism and to guide them onto a realistic road in their political involvement.

9917

CSO: 2300/250

HUNGARY

GOVERNMENT SANCTIONS TRADITIONAL NATIONAL ANTHEM

Budapest MAGYAR IFJUSAG in Hungarian 18 Jan 85 p 6

[Text]. On the evening of January 8 at 10:55, after the next day's program disappeared from the screen, the Parliament appeared and the National Anthem sounded. While we listened to Ferenc Erkel's melody, the screen showed Tihany and the Balaton, the statue of King Stephen, Heroes' Square, Buda Castle, Mount Gellert, the Parliament again with flags waving in front of it, and finally a view of Budapest at night. Even if we object to this series of pictures insofar as it focuses blatantly on the capital, showing that an old and harmful prejudice is having an effect in this matter also, allowing the daily program to end with the National Anthem is a beautiful and noble idea.

Not long ago I was at a national festivity, the dedication of the house of an outstanding Hungarian writer as a historical monument. Under the guidance of their teachers, several hundred school children listened to the speakers; then the National Anthem followed. A few dozen of us, mostly older guests, sang. I watched the surprised faces of the children; it was as if they were hearing a strange congregation of unknown ladies and gentlemen singing a Bantu folksong that they had never heard before. And the teachers standing in front of the lines blinked in a startled way. Were they supposed to sing? They glanced not just at each other, but at those who stood on the stage in front of them. Most of these people did not sing.

We certainly cannot embroider the political and historical cloak bequeathed to us by the decade of the fifties. But still, we should be permitted to mention that at that time we were glad when, during some school festivities, the voices of students, teachers, and parents rang out in the gymnasium as they sang the anthem with all their might and with uplifted heads: "Our people have already atoned for....," and everyone could think his own thoughts.

The anthem is not just a common memory but is also a lofty national testimonial to our will to survive. Later, singing it became suspicious. It was even left out of the required music curriculum of our schools. Therefore, let's not be surprised if young people today don't know it. On festive occasions we stand quietly with bowed heads, stealing glances at each other,

and listen to a record: others sing instead of us. And while we didn't teach the new generations at all, our own inner voices have also been silenced to a degree; we also got use to not singing. In fact, while we listened silently, our thoughts would sometimes wander in other directions. So we stood there dutifully, but in spirit we were absent. Thus, the historical and communal feelings being expressed were not really alive.

The confusion is apparent on many levels. Because what will a citizen who cares about the accuracy of our newspapers think if he attends a funeral and sees that the newspaper the next day fails to mention that he and several thousand other people ended the ceremony by singing the anthem? In other cases, when a chorus sings it, it is announced in the official reports. Why in the one case, but not the other? Because in one case an officially selected program is in evidence, while in the other it is a spontaneous occurrence?

It seems to be the newest theatrical trick these days to make use of the anthem or the flag when making mocking references to our common condition. This is a false, superficial sleight of hand, because if the inner, elevated meaning of these symbols is missing from the common thinking of society, the opposite meaning, its ironic significance, will also lack credible impact. But the opposite approach also can only be considered a frothy superficiality and an artificial solution: for example, when the end of "Stephen the King" tries to resolve the dramatic inner conflicts through us of the tricolor. We believe that the late evening TV program, which promises to be a regular feature, will make us stronger in a deeper sense. We will learn to sing again, and we will dare to. On a social scale.

CSO: 2500/226



HUNGARY

MORAL, RELIGIOUS PROBLEMS OF CATHOLIC CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTORS

Vienna GEGENSTIMMEN in German, Winter 1984 pp 41-42

[GEGENSTIMMEN interview with Karoly Kiszely: "Amoral and Unchristian?"]

[Text] The Catholic church hierarchy in Hungary maintains the tradition of the crusaders: Only those who fight with the modern sword are acting in a manner that is pleasing to God. Anyone who refuses is jailed.

[GEGENSTIMMEN] Karoly, you were the first Catholic in Hungary who refused to serve in the army. What were your reasons?

[Kiszely] What I did at that time, and I am speaking of 1976, was not at all obvious; on the contrary, it was totally inconceivable for a Catholic to do something like that: refuse military service. In order to depict for you the atmosphere in which I was living at the time I can describe my village: a gigantic cannon planted in front of the church, for the glory of the fatherland.

Of course, at the time there were Catholic Bulany's base groups, but at the time they had not yet begun to manifest their pacificism by being conscientious objectors. Rather it was only because of my action that they began to ponder the significance of such a statement of his way of thinking to the outside world and subsequently likewise preferred to go to jail rather than into the army. Beyond that there were just sects, such as the Nazarenes or Jehovah's Witnesses, whose members were sentenced in court for being conscientious objectors.

[GEGENSTIMMEN] How did all that take place? The legal proceedings, the arrest, prison...

[Kiszely] In 1976 I received my induction notice. I responded to it with a letter in which I stated that because of religious convictions I must refuse to serve in the army. I requested alternative service. This was denied immediately. There was no law which guaranteed this right. I made the same application a second time. I was told that I had to apply to the military administrator. I went there on a Monday morning. I had to wait there for a long time in a long line of people until it was finally my turn. In front of me there were all sorts of people who had come for every conceivable reason. When I reached him I presented my application one more time. Instead of an answer he called his guards and I was taken to prison.

Thus, I was arrested on Monday and the trial took place on Friday. Naturally the trial was a farce. I had to select a defender from a list put together by the military authorities. In order to be able to be a candidate on this list an attorney in Hungary must have a "certificate of perfection" and in our country that really means something.

Prior to the trial the lady attorney, whom I took to be at least honest, told me that the punishment would not be harsh at all, but that in order to gain the goodwill of the court I had to renounce any kind of statement. On the contrary, I would even have to respond to the question as to whether I wanted to say something that I was in agreement with the decision of the court. This decision was then without any leniency: 33 months without probation.

Not one single member of my family was present in the courtroom. The attorney told me that my parents' work had kept them from coming and participating in the trial. You must understand that the shock was enormous...

[GEGENSTIMMEN] In spite of that they must have justified the sentence, or what?

[Kiszely] That was very simple. Legally there was no possibility of alternative military service. I had no legal grounds to defend myself. I lodged an appeal which lasted less than 5 minutes. In connection with that there was then an important event. Under the pressure of the Helsinki discussions about human rights the government felt obligated to undertake something. One year later, in November 1977, the military administrator came to my cell in order to tell me that I would soon be released.

I had been sentenced because there had not been any laws which controlled being a conscientious objector. Now, since the government had prepared such a bill the sentence was no longer justified. I had only to get my things together.

A few hours later the guard came to tell me that since I was a Catholic I had no right to make use of this new law. This new law provided alternative military service for only a very small number of people--rather a symbolic number of 20 people out of about 200 who are in prison--exclusively for people who were conscientious objectors specifically because of their religious faith, as for example the Jehovah's Witnesses. This law did not recognize personal reasons of conscience.

I lodged an appeal since Hungarian law prohibits discrimination against one religion in favor of another. This government policy is understandable: the general right to be a conscientious objector would have conjured up the danger of a snowball effect.

[GEGENSTIMMEN] During this time did you receive help from outside? From your friends?

[Kiszely] No, actually not. Bulany's group, as I already stated, was only beginning to ask itself these questions. My Catholic friends were nowhere to be seen, they did not even write to me. I think that they probably felt provoked because of my position.

In contrast the non-Christians appeared to be more understanding. At least they wrote to me... Oh yes, there was a strange experience with the military administrator which I forgot to mention. During an interrogation he asked me a rather rhetorical question: "Name a single country in which the right to be a conscientious objector exists..." He was very taken aback when I named several countries for him. That shows the extent of "information" which even the highest functionaries have at their command. He immediately changed the topic of the discussion.

[GEGENSTIMMEN] What were conditions like in prison?

[Kiszely] Rather poor. There were 40 of us in a cell which was meant for 20. There were five rows of two bunkbeds each next to the other and with only a tiny space of less than 1 meter between the beds. Throughout the day it was strictly forbidden to sit down on the beds. Thus, we were all forced to walk up and down constantly in these narrow passageways. What was especially bad was the fact that around the clock, both in the working areas and in the cells, we were always with the same people. Forty people--that is a lot.

[GEGENSTIMMEN] What was the attitude of the Catholic hierarchy?

[Kiszely] Unacceptable. In order not to endanger its good relationship with the state in this case it accepted the most miserable compromises. A bishop even wrote me that it was impossible to reconcile refusing to serve in the army with the Catholic faith and that my attitude--I quote--was totally "amoral."

Lekai, our cardinal, said during a bible class that it was the duty of every Catholic to defend his fatherland in a military way. This, of course, totally contradicts the Catholic faith which preaches the priority of the personal conscience over the laws of the state. The Catholic hierarchy participated in the retaliatory measures against the conscientious objectors. Several times it called for Bulany's group to be reasonable.

Naturally it was impossible to foist something like that off on being a conscientious objector. But, after looking hard, it found a number of theological niceties, including reference to the Holy Ghost. This was a means, like any other, to get rid of undesirable people. Bulany is no longer permitted to read mass, and so on. I wrote to a large number of theologians in the West in order to get their opinion on the question. They all answered me that the Catholic faith was in complete agreement with the right to be a conscientious objector.

\* \* \*

The small Hungarian independent peace movement can with some justification claim to have "brought conditions to the point of movement": when the 10th congress of the Peace Council met in November, it was decided to establish their own youth section in order to once again gain control of the desire for peace among youth which was degenerating into opposition.

Karoly Kiszely is also the author of a brochure which was published by the independent AB Publishing House in Budapest in 1984. Under the title "Peace Movement--But How?" he examines the status of the peace movement: "The balance of arms would have to be replaced by a balance of peace movements." He also authored a draft platform for the Hungarian peace movement and examines the legal foundations of an independent peace movement. The booklet contains a removable "self-protection page." It brings together those Hungarian decrees and laws which guarantee basic and civil rights and on which every peace activist can rely in the event of police persecution.

In the first part Kiszely sketches the status of the peace movements and states: The development of an independent and effective Eastern peace movement which is in close theoretical and practical contact with the Western peace movement would perhaps be the most essential event in human history. This peace movement and its methods would have to differ in part from the Western one so that it can exist at all, but at the same time it would have to be capable of exercising and conveying social pressure so as to be consonant with its mission.

In respect to the two wings of the Hungarian independent peace movement--the "Dialog" group around Ferenc Koeszegi which thinks that it can maintain its independence vis-a-vis the state even if it makes stronger contacts with the state peace council and hopes to create with certain concessions and compromises certain free spaces for itself; and a more radical wing, which even functions in a conspirative way--Kiszely says: "The 'peace club' activity and the more radical initiatives are not mutually exclusive, they complement one another. We must only pay very close attention to the fact that no one plays the two directions off against one another."

The recommendation for a platform for the Hungarian peace movement is to be discussed in the groups, in Kiszely's view it would have to contain the following points: a) a Hungary that is free of nuclear, biological and chemical arms, b) the transformation of the Hungarian army into a defensive unit, c) a nonaggression pact with Austria and Yugoslavia, d) alternative civilian service for conscientious objectors, e) a criticism of militarism in everyday life, f) publication of the Hungarian military budget, g) a declaration of solidarity with the peace movements of the NATO countries and the other independent movements.

12124

CSO: 3620/224

HUNGARY

FORMER ANTI-JEWISH LAW REDUCES WOMAN'S PENSION

Budapest ELET ES IRODALOM in Hungarian 11 Jan 85 p 9

[Article by Dr Lilla Szilagyi, "How Long Will the Former Jewish Law Stay in Effect?"]

[Text] A person is lucky if he experiences one miracle in his lifetime; for example, if he survives the holocaust of 40 years ago that is mentioned so often these days.

He really can't expect another miracle--that Buda and Pest counties' Directorate of Social Security's committee on social security (commonly known as the Pension Board) would not penalize him because in those days he came under the Jewish Laws.

However, it happened that in 1984 I got old, and after working for 45 years wanted to retire. Of these 45 years, from 1939 to 1941 I worked legally; then afterwards I worked illegally as an anonymous, concealed journalist--in fact, for MEPSZAVA--but of course without social insurance. In 1962 I received written confirmation of this from Istvan Szasz and Janos Erdody, who were the editors of NEPSZAVA at that time. But it didn't do any good; this time is lost to me with the exception of one day--2 June 1942--which interestingly enough has been conceded to me. When I appealed on account of the years that were taken from me, they rejected my appeal because "In view of the fact that your activities did not fall under any social security requirement, we cannot consider them as a contribution to the time counted toward your pension."

Did not fall under any social security requirement. No, I wasn't insured, my life certainly wasn't insured, nor there or later in the house marked with a star, or in the brick factory, or during the forced march--in fact, not even in the ghetto. Nowhere.

The decree rejecting my appeal goes on to inform me: "According to the 17/1975. (VI.14.) MT ruling's paragraph 116, time spent outside of service because of left-wing activities or descent must be taken into account if a request to have it included was ordered as restitution before 1950 by the appropriate agency."

I did not ask for restitution because as a worker on NEPSZAVA and later on the WORKERS' WORLD JOURNAL I was occupied with many other things and I forgot that one day I would get old and would have to pay for being a Jew, and for being "left-wing" at a time when this was a considerably expensive "amusement"; for example, most of us paid for it with their lives. So why should I complain about the loss of 2 or 3 percent, which now, in my old days, is imposed on me thanks to the good offices of the Pension Board?

Well, that's enough about miracles.

CSO: 2500/225

HUNGARY

BRIEFS

RADIO PARTY MEETING--The development of Hungarian radio programs and the analysis of certain individual programs were surveyed at the party meeting at Hungarian Radio. Work that has been carried out by communists of the institution in the period since the last party congress was also appraised. The meeting was addressed by Miklos Ovari, member of the party's Politburo, secretary of the Central Committee, who analyzed questions of our domestic political, ideological and cultural life. Present at the party meeting of Hungarian Radio were deputy premier, Judit Chehak, and State Secretary Rezsoe Banyasz, chairman of the Government Information Office. [Text] [Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 9 Feb 85]

DISTRICTS DISCUSS 13TH MSZMP CONGRESS--Budapest, February 17 (MTI) -- Preparations for the 13th congress of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party have come to an important stage on Saturday when communists of 13 Budapest districts and the metropolitan council held party conferences. On the basis of written reports and verbal contributions the delegates assessed the work done since the 12th congress, summarized the debates on the guidelines for the 13th congress and formulated their position concerning the document of great importance. The conference reelected party committees and executive committees, and elected deputies for the Budapest party conference. [Text] [Budapest MTI in English 1709 GMT 17 Feb 85]

REGIONAL TELEVISION PROGRAM FOR BUDAPEST--Budapest, February 14 (MTI) -- Hungarian television started regular telecast for Budapest February 12. The regional programme is broadcast on channel 11, Tuesday, from 6.30 to 7.00 P.M. [1730-1800 GMT] Programmes are on issues that determine the everyday life of the capital such as transport, housing, services, and urban questions. On February 12 the chairman of the metropolitan council outlined the development alternatives of the forthcoming five-year plan (1986-1990). Most programmes will be telecast live for viewers to express opinion on different topics. The regional studios of the Hungarian TV in Szeged and Pecs are to telecast regional programmes early April. [Text] [Budapest MTI in English 1724 GMT 14 Feb 85]



6 March 1985

POLAND

## PROLIFERATION OF CATHOLIC PRESS IN RECENT YEARS NOTED

Krakow TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY in Polish No 3, 20 Jan 85 p 4

/Article by M. K. and bibliography of Catholic periodicals: "Polish Catholic Press"/

/Text/ A renaissance of the Catholic press in Poland, unprecedented in the postwar period, is among the unquestionable, and permanent, consequences of the social changes begun in August 1980. The religious periodical press has a long and rich tradition in our country. The origin of many journals dates back to the 19th century. In the interwar period more than a thousand titles of Catholic journals appeared. A catalog published by the Catholic University of Lublin enumerates exactly 1,150; several belonged to the most popular periodicals in the country.

Some Catholic journals were revived after the war, and new titles appeared as well. However, between 1950 and 1953 a gradual liquidation of the press connected with the Catholic Church took place. Literally, only a few periodicals were saved. Although some previously closed journals were reactivated in 1956 and 1957, the Catholic press had been for 30 years a marginal phenomenon on the map of periodical press in Poland, with regard both to the number of titles and their circulation, but, due to its significance, it was a margin of extraordinary significance.

One of important demands of the August 1980 protest movement was that religion should have a more prominent place in public life, including, above all, mass media. The radio began to broadcast Sunday Mass, and some Catholic journals were permitted to increase their circulation. The Office of Control over Publications and Performances received many applications to reactivate respected Catholic journals, or to create new ones. These developments undoubtedly followed from a great social need, and were made easier by the greater scope allowed for freedom of expression. However, only a few new titles managed to receive permits and appear on the market before the imposition of martial law. Nevertheless, despite the changes situation after 13 December 1981, the work to organize journals which received publication permits continued without obstacles; new permits were also issued. As a result, from 1982 to 1984 the renaissance of the Catholic press became fully visible.

Today, at the beginning of 1985, the Catholic press in Poland includes 31 periodicals with a total circulation of 1.16 million. Thus the press situation has in a sense approximated the true picture of the social situation in its religious aspect.

The number and circulation of periodicals connected with the Roman Catholic Church, to which an overwhelming majority of citizens of our country belongs, presently equals that of the secular Catholic press which is not connected with the Church hierarchy, as well as the press of other churches and religious associations.

This does not mean, however, that the present situation satisfies social needs and expectations. In the literal, professional sense, the Catholic press in Poland is represented only by five weeklies and three biweeklies. Other titles include monthlies, bimonthlies, and quarterlies; only some of these are intended for a broad circle of readers, while a majority consists of scientific or specialized journals. The absence of even a single daily connected with the church is especially conspicuous.

Overall, the entire Catholic press constitutes a mere 1.3 percent of all periodicals published in Poland, far behind such categories as the arts (82 titles), or sports, games and entertainment (40 titles). Also, the total circulation of all Catholic periodicals, many of which are addressed to a very large public, constitutes only 2.6 percent of the total single-issue circulation of the entire Polish press. This is, of course, a consequence of the strict limits imposed on circulation and not of the readers' preference. Hence there are areas where the shortage of Catholic press is very acute. Serious difficulties with printing pose a difficult problem for almost the whole Catholic press. This has an unfavorable impact on the length of publishing cycles, the regularity with which many journals, especially monthlies, are published, and on the graphic design of the press.

Despite all these limitations and shortages the present situation is better than at any time in the 40 years after the war. In the 1980's the church acquired a new, important instrument for the propagation of its teachings and advocating Christian values; the readers gained a wider choice of the press.

The list of Catholic periodicals presented below was compiled at the request of the Commission for the Mass Media of the Polish Episcopate. We publish it with the hope that better familiarity with the church's assets in this sphere will aid the full utilization of existing possibilities in the general situation of scarcity of the Catholic press.

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APOLSTOLSTWO CHORYCH  
/The Apostleship of the Sick/  
Monthly

Established in June 1933, suspended in 1939, revived in October 1946.  
Publisher: Polish Secretariat of the Apostleship of the Sick in Katowice.  
Editor-in-chief: Rev Henryk Sobczyk.  
Address: 40-950 Katowice, ul. Wita Stwosza 16. Telephone 512-152.  
Size A-5, 16 pages, circulation 50,000. The cost of publication is covered by donations.

ATENEUM KAPLANSKIE  
/Priestly Atheneum/  
Bimonthly

Established as a monthly in 1909, suspended in 1939, revived in 1946, suspended in 1950, revived in 1957.

Publisher: Higher Theological Seminary in Wloclawek.

Editor-in-chief: Rev Jerzy Bagrowicz.

Editorial Staff: Rev Franciszek Jozwiak; Rev Wojciech Hanc; Rev Marian Golebiowski.

Address: 87-800 Wloclawek, u. Kard. Karnkowskiego 3, P.O. Box 84.

Telephone 277-16.

Size A-5, 160 pages, circulation 6030.

COLLECTANEA THEOLOGICA  
Quarterly

Established in 1920 as PRZEGLAD TEOLOGICZNY /Theological Review/, since 1934 published under the title of COLLECTANEA THEOLOGICA, suspended in 1939, revived in 1949.

Publisher: The Academy of Catholic Theology in Warsaw.

Editor-in-chief: Rev Henryk Bogacki.

Address: 01-653 Warsaw, ul. Dewajtis 3. Telephone 34-72-91.

Size A-5, 200 pages, circulation 2530.

COMMUNIO  
Bimonthly

Established in 1981.

Publisher: Association of Catholic Apostleship "Pallotinum."

Editor-in-chief: Rev Pawel Goralczyk, SAC.

Address: 05-850 Ozarow Mazowiecki, ul. Kilinskiego 20.

Telephone (022) 58-62-29.

GOSC NIEDZIELNY  
/Sunday Guest/  
Weekly

Established in September 1923, suspended in 1939, revived in 1945.

Publisher: Curia of the Katowice Kiocese.

Editor-in-chief: Rev Stanislaw Tkocz.

Address: 40-42 Katowice, ul. Witz Stwosza 16.

Telephone 51-18-07, 51-50-500. Telex 031-57-40.

Size A-3, 8 pages, circulation 200,000.

GWIAZDA MORZA  
/Sea Star/  
Biweekly

Established as a weekly in December 1936, suspended in 1939, revived in October 1983.

Publisher: Bishop's Curia in Gdansk.

Editor-in-chief: Rev Wieslaw Lauer.  
Editorial staff: Grzegorz Fortuna; Ewa Gorska; Maria Mrozinska.  
Address: 80-801 Gdansk 50, ul. Podkramarska 5. Telephone 31-92-11.  
Size A-3, 8 pages, circulation 15,000.

HOMO DEI  
Quarterly

Established as a bimonthly in May 1932, suspended in September 1939, revived in 1946, suspended in 1952, revived in 1957.  
Publisher: Warsaw Province of Redemptorist Fathers.  
Editor-in-chief: Fr Czeslaw Kudron, SSR.  
Editorial staff: Fr Wojciech Boloz; Fr Edmund Kowalski; professors of the Theological Seminary in Tuchow.  
Address: 01-203 Warsaw, ul. Karolkowa 49. Telephone 32-36-15.  
Size B-5, 80 pages, circulation 5,000.

JASNA GORA  
Monthly

Established in 1983.  
Publisher: General Curia of the Order of Paulines and the Jasna Gora Monastery.  
Editor-in-chief: Fr Rufin Abramiek, ZP. Deputy: Fr Zachariasz Jablonski, ZP.  
Address: 42-200 Czestochowa, ul. O. Kordeckiego 2.  
Telephone 475-41. Telex 036-610 Monte.  
Size A-5, 64 pages, circulation 3,500.

KATECHETA  
/The Catechist/  
Bimonthly

Established in 1957.  
Publisher: St Wojciech Bookstore in Poznan.  
Editor-in-chief: Rev Marian Finke.  
Address: 60-967 Poznan, Pl. Wolnosci 1. Telephone 591-86.  
Size A-5, 48 pages, circulation 6,500.

KROLOWA APOSTOLOW  
/Queen of the Apostles/  
Monthly, illustrated

Established in January 1908, suspended in September 1939, revived in April 1947, suspended in 1953, revived in March 1982.  
Publisher: Association of Catholic Apostleship "Pallotinum."  
Editor-in-chief: Rev Jan Palyga, SAC.  
Editorial staff: Rev Jozef Andruszewski; Rev Stanislaw Chabinski; Rev Feliks Folejewski; Maria Grzymala; Wojciech Grzymala; Wieslawa Lewandowska-Lopuszynska; Jolanta Lubieniecka; Slawmoir Siwek; Jacek Moskwa.  
Address: 03-802 Warsaw, ul. Skaryszewska 15. Telephone 19-15-02.  
Size A-4, 36 pages, circulation 50,000.

LAD BOZY  
/Lord's Order/  
Biweekly

Established in 1945, suspended in 1952, revived in 1982.  
Publisher: Curia of the Wloclawek Diocese.  
Editor-in-chief: Rev Antoni Poninski.  
Address: 87-800 Wloclawek, ul. Legowska 49. Telephone 222-79.  
Size A-4, 8 pages, circulation 50,000.

MALY GOSC NIEDZIELNY  
/Little Sunday Guest/  
Monthly

Appeared as a supplement to GOSC NIEDZIELNY in December 1926, revived in 1945.  
Publisher: Curia of the Katowice Diocese.  
Editor-in-chief: Lidia Kalkusinska.  
Address: 40-042 Katowice, ul. Wita Stwosza 16. Telephone 51-18-07.  
Size A-4, 24 pages, circulation 100,000.

MISJONARZ  
/The Missionary/  
Bimonthly

Established in 1983 as the continuation of the prewar journal NASZ MISJONARZ  
/Our Missionary/.  
Publisher: Publishing House of Verbist Priests "Verbinum."  
Editor-in-chief: Rev Antoni Koszerz, SVD.  
Administration: 86-130 Laskowice, ul. Długa 44.  
Address: 04-118 Warsaw, ul. Ostrobramska 90. Telephone 10-42-33.  
Size A-4, 48 pages, circulation 15,000.

MISYJNE DROGI  
/Missionary Ways/  
Quarterly

Established in 1983.  
Publisher: Misjonarze Oblaci Maryi Niepokalanej /The Oblate Missionaries of  
Immaculate Mary/.  
Editor-in-chief: Rev Alfons Kupka, OM.  
Address: 60-102 Poznan, ul. Ostatnia 14. Telephone 654-44.  
Size A-4, 64 pages, circulation 20,000.

MSZA SWIETA  
/The Holy Mass/  
Monthly

Established in March 1936, suspended in September 1939, revived in 1946,  
suspended in 1953, revived in 1957.  
Publisher: Christ Society for the Polonia Abroad.  
Editor-in-chief: Rev Michal Kaminski, S.C.  
Address: 61-120 Poznan, ul. Lubraskiego 1a. Telephone 790-171.  
Size A-5, 24 pages, circulation 20,000.

NIEDZIELA  
/Sunday/  
Weekly

Established in April 1926, suspended in September 1939 (last issue dated 3 September), revived in June 1945, suspended in March 1953, revived in June 1981, suspended in December 1981, revived in March 1982.

Publisher: Curia of the Czestochowa Diocese.

Editor-in-chief: Rev Ireneusz Skubis.

Address: 42-200 Czestochowa, ul. 3 Maja 12. Telephone 466-48.

Size A-3, 8 pages, circulation 100,000.

NOWE ZYCIE  
/New Life/  
Biweekly

Established in June 1983.

Publisher: Wroclaw Metropolitan Curia.

Editor-in-chief: Rev Henryk Szareyko.

Address: 50-328 Wroclaw, ul. Katedralna 13. Telephone 22-82-69.

Size A-4, 16 pages, circulation 20,000.

PAPIESKIE INTENCJE MISYJNE  
/Papal Missionary Intentions/  
Bimonthly, illustrated

Established in 1982.

Publisher: National Secretariat of the Papal Work for the Propagation of Faith.

Editor-in-chief: P.o.S. Teresa Kepinska, OP.

Address: 01-015 Warsaw, Skwer Ks. Kard. Wyszyńskiego 6.

Telephone 38-92-51 ext. 272.

Size A-4, 16 pages, circulation 10,000

POSLANIEC SERCA JEZUSOWEGO  
/The Messenger of Christ's Heart/  
Monthly

Established in January 1872 under the title APOSTOLSTWO SERCA JEZUSOWEGO, present title since May 1903. Suspended in July 1940, revived in 1946, suspended in December 1950, revived in January 1982.

Publisher: Jesuit Priests of Southern Poland, Krakow.

Editor-in-chief: Rev Jan Ozog, SJ. Deputy: Rev Franciszek Rzepka, SJ.

Address: 31-501 Cracow, ul. Kopernika 26. Telephone 21-35-98, 21-40-61.

Size A-4, 32 pages, circulation 150,000

POSLANIEC WARMINSKI  
/Warmia Messenger/  
Monthly

Established in 1969.

Publisher: Curia of the Olsztyn Diocese.

Editor-in-chief: Rev Benedykt Przeracki.

Address: 10-488 Olsztyn, ul. Glowackiego 14. Telephone 239-22.

Size B-4, 8 pages, circulation 25,000.

POWSCIAGLIWOSC I PRACA  
/Restraint and Work/  
Monthly

Established in July 1898, suspended in July 1914, revived in September 1925, suspended in August 1939, revived in September 1983.  
Publisher: Publishing House "Michalineum" of the General Curia of the Gathering of St Michael Archangel.  
Editor-in-chief: Rev Jan Chrapek, CSMA.  
Editorial staff: Deputy Editor-in-chief Jan Spiewak; Elzbieta Hudon-Pieniak.  
Address: 05-261 Marki Struga, ul. Swierczewskiego 248/252.  
Telephone 30-04-50.  
Size B-4, 16 pages, circulation 30,000.

PRZEGLAD KATOLICKI  
/Catholic Review/  
Weekly

Established in August 1863. Since 1909 joined with WIARA /Faith/ and issued under a double title, since 1910 published under original title. Suspended in 1915, revived in July 1922, suspended in August 1939, revived in June 1984.  
Publisher: Publishing House of the Warsaw Archdiocese.  
Editor-in-chief: Rev Waldemar Wojdecki.  
Editorial staff: Tadeusz Karolak; Deputy Editor-in-chief Rev Jozef Warzeszak; Jan Dworak.  
Address: 00-695 Warsaw, ul. Nowogrodzka 49. Telephone 21-05-58.  
Size B-5, 8 pages, circulation 40,000

PRZEGLAD POWSZECHNY  
/General Review/  
Monthly

Established in 1884, suspended in 1914, revived in 1916, suspended in 1939, revived in 1947, suspended in 1953, revived in July 1982.  
Publisher: Wielkopolsko-Mazowiecka Province Society of Jesus.  
Editor-in-chief: Rev Stanislaw Opiela, SJ.  
Address: 02-532 Warsaw, ul. Rakowiecka 61. Telephone 48-09-78.  
Size A-5, 160 pages, circulation 10,000.

PRZEWODNIK KATOLICKI  
/Catholic Guide/  
Weekly

Established in January 1895, suspended in September 1939, revived in December 1956.  
Publisher: St Wojciech Bookstore in Poznan.  
Editor-in-chief: Rev Zbigniew Pawlak, P.  
Address: 61-858 Poznan, ul. Grobla 1. Telephone 546-95.  
Size B-4, 8 pages, circulation 100,000.

RUCH BIBLIJNY I LITURGICZNY  
/Biblical and Liturgical Movement/  
Bimonthly

Established in 1948.

Publisher: Polish Theological Society in Krakow.

Editor-in-chief: Rev Jerzy Chmiel.

Editorial staff: Rev Stanislaw Grzybek; Fr Franciszek Malaczynski, OSB;  
Rev Tadeusz Matras.

Address: 31-064 Krakow, ul. Augustianska 7. Telephone 66-25-07.

Size A-5, 96 pages, circulation 4032.

RYCERZ NIEPOKALANEJ  
/The Knight of the Immaculate/  
Monthly

Established in January 1922, suspended in January 1941, revived in 1945,  
suspended in December 1952, revived in March 1982.

Publisher: Publishing House of the Franciscan Fathers in Niepokalanow.

Editor-in-chief: Fr Lubomir Bernatek, OFM conv.

Address: 96-515 Teresin k. Sochaczewa, Niepokalanow. Telephone 127-01.

Size B-5, 36 pages, circulation 100,000.

TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY  
/General Weekly/  
Weekly

Established in March 1945, suspended in March 1953, revived in December 1956,  
suspended in December 1981, revived in June 1982.

Publisher: Social Publishing Institute "Znak" in Krakow.

Editor-in-chief: Jerzy Turowicz.

Editorial staff: Rev Andrzej Bardecki; Wladyslaw Bartoszewski; Rev Adam  
Boniecki; Jozefa Hennelowa; Jerzy Kolataj; Krzysztof Kozlowski; Marcin Krol;  
Bronislaw Mamon; Andrzej Micewski; Mieczyslaw Pszon; Jerzy Skapski; Marek  
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/Contemporary Pulpit/  
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Publisher: Curia of the Kielce Diocese.

Editor-in-chief: Rev Bishop Mieczyslaw Jaworski. Deputy: Rev Henryk Witczyk.

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Editor-in-chief: Stefan Wilkanowicz.

Editorial staff: Franciszek Blajda; Halina Bortnowska; Tomasz Fijalkowski; Jan Grosfeld; Stanislaw Grygiel; Krzysztof Sliwinski; Henryk Wozniakowski.

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Size A-5, 160 pages, circulation 15,000.

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POLAND

PRIEST IN NOWA HUTA DISCUSSES RELATIONSHIP WITH PARISH

Krakow TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY in Polish No 47, 18 Nov 85 p 3

[Interview with Fr Kazimierz Jancarz, curate of St Maximilian's Church in Nowa Huta, by Maria De Hernandez-Paluch]

[Text] [Question] I remember our first discussion. It took place prior to the Holy Father's visit. It was during his second pilgrimage [to Poland] that the pope consecrated the church in Mistrzejowice, a district of Nowa Huta. We talked a great deal at that time about Fr Jozef Kurzeja, who began the construction of the church under very difficult conditions and surrounded by problems. Unfortunately, he did not live to see its successful completion. It is said that he is treated by the parishioners almost as a saint. Can you confirm this opinion which I have heard?

[Answer] Yes. Furthermore, Fr Jozef showed us the way. Through his perseverance and work beyond all human strength, he made it possible for the Holy Father to consecrate the church in 1983. Among the great merits of the present pastor, Prelate Kuczkowski, is that he faithfully carries out the will of his predecessor.

[Question] How long have you been working in Mistrzejowice?

[Answer] I began my priestly duties in Pisarzowice near Bielsko; then, I went on to Andrychow, Oswiecim, Niepolomice and finally, in 1978 to Mistrzejowice. I have found myself for the first time in a parish where the pastor does not impose anything on any of the priests. Everyone can develop his own talents. Undoubtedly, this is why we form a very harmonious community of priests. Of the previous parishes, Andrychow stands out the most in my mind. [----] [Law of 31 July 1981 on the control of publications and public events, article 2, paragraph 1, 2 (DZIENNIK USTAW No 20, item 99, amended DZIENNIK USTAW in 1983 No 44, item 204)].

[Question] Mistrzejowice is a typical working-class community.

[Answer] No. It is a typical rural parish in which workers live. After all, these workers are Little Poland peasants with rural religious traditions. Nearly all of them have parents in rural areas.

It is only those born in Nowa Huta who can form a working-class community. During religion classes, I asked the children what they did during vacation. "I went home," was their answer. "What do you mean you went home--where are you now?" "I was at home in the country, we only live here."

[Question] I believe that the majority of the new workers communities present a similar picture. In any case, you are a priest in a working-class district. Can you be described as a workingman's priest?

[Answer] There is only one ministry. I teach children from first, second, third and eighth grades and youth from technical schools. I also teach workers, health service employees, teachers, etc. This is very good because you can learn something from everyone.

[Question] What does it mean to be a priest? Is it a mission or does it mean that you minister to people?

[Answer] I feel that it is a mission. The second aspect? It is not so much a matter of ministering to people as it is showing the Gospel and translating it into the language of today--the language of experiences lived; the language of concrete situations.

[Question] How does this translating implement itself in practice?

[Answer] Through the ministry of the word, through the liturgy and through the Holy Sacraments. Aside from this, my door is always open to everyone.

[Question] The word is that you are a remarkable preacher.

[Answer] I am simply always learning how to be a priest. I could not do a thing if it were not for the people.

[Question] From this statement, I draw the conclusion that a priest is with the people for better and for worse. Should this relationship concern only spiritual matters or social ones as well?

[Answer] A priest must be with the faithful in every situation. Otherwise, he would only be a craftsman of religious services. While being with the people, he must at the same time maintain a certain distance with regard to the situation which, after all, is not always identical. You ask whether a priest is supposed to minister to the people in spiritual matters or in social ones as well? My response: spirituality must pervade social matters. To remove oneself from social issues is to suspend pastoral work in a void. As an example of this, I will give the struggle with alcoholism. Is it possible to fight it only in spiritual categories when its roots lie in imperfect soil? Therefore, I have to fight with the roots and not with the dried up leaves.

[Question] Do you not feel overpowered by the outburst of social, widespread activity within the church?

[Answer] An outburst of activity? This is normal life at last! It follows from the teachings of the Holy Father that in pastoral work one has to base things on man. The conclusion is, therefore, unequivocal: a reality in which man would constitute the greatest impediment must be diabolic.

[Question] Does the priest only have the responsibility of shaping man or also unity and community with their structures?

[Answer] A sense of community is created by people. The shape of unions and communities is determined by the persons within them. That is why we have imperfect unions and imperfect communities. By looking at the history of the church, it is possible to argue that this is a history of creation. Catholicism demands perfection but it looks at man honestly. Thus, it sees his misery, doubtfulness and constantly tries to pick him up. And this is that striving for perfection. All theories on the perfection of societies are simply utopia.

[Question] Is it possible to be on good terms with God without being on good terms with man?

[Answer] I refer you to the commandment on love.

[Question] Are freedom, justice and happiness only eschatological promises?

[Answer] The Kingdom of God is built on earth. Such values as freedom, justice and happiness give meaning to this effort and to this work. Without these values, there would be no social science of the church.

[Question] The knowledge of the social science of the church is rather scant in society.

[Answer] Therefore, it is necessary to teach about it. [----] [Law of 31 July 1981 on the control of publications and public events, article 2, paragraph 1, 6 (DZIENNIK USTAW No 20, item 99, amended DZIENNIK USTAW 1983 No 44, item 204)]. We are not forcing open doors which are already open. We are using knowledge which has already been revealed. In my pastoral work, I also try to convey the wisdom contained in the Gospel which is often undetected by the faithful. Therefore, I preach the Gospel as if though Christ Himself were talking to the people today. I change the decor, the dress and the wording somewhat. At our university, we also teach the basic principles of self-organization but in a practical manner. For example, the academic confraternity (there are four confraternities acting alongside the church) was assigned the task of organizing independently a vacation camp by the lakes. Normally, a 2-week vacation costs 14,000 zlotys per person. Our rest lasted 18 days and the cost per adult was 6,000 zlotys and half that amount per child. Our fellow brothers from the confraternity did such a splendid job that for the first time at camp I was just a priest and not a supplier, quartermaster and book-keeper as had been the case before.

The values which you mentioned--freedom, justice and happiness--implemented themselves in such work. Personally, I feel like one of the freest men in the world. I am becoming increasingly more tolerant and this I learned from the people. They also taught me self-respect. Undoubtedly, I am not completely successful at it. Fortunately, I am surrounded by people who point out my faulty behavior. Thus, I am learning from them as well and the rest are watched over by St Maximilian and by Fr Kurzeja.

[----] [Law of 31 July 1981 on the control of publications and public events, article 2, paragraph 1, 2 (DZIENNIK USTAW No 20, item 99, amended DZIENNIK USTAW 1983 No 44, item 204)].

[Question] Is pastoral activity in this regard supposed to be limited only to words?

[Answer] The ministry of the word belongs to the responsibilities of a priest. However, he should also bring concrete assistance in his cooperation with the laity. If this assistance is genuine then opinions are formed that this is social activity.

[Question] Do you take an interest in politics?

[Answer] I know nothing about it. I do not listen to the radio, watch TV or read newspapers. I am interested in man and in that he may reasonably happily become increasingly better, generous and kind toward others. I am interested in his self-organizing and self-improvement capabilities; in his actions on behalf of others, his job of living in this community, his family happiness, etc.

[Question] People from this community are saying that you have charisma.

[Answer] If I do, it is only that of ordinary life: the ability to be happy with whatever is at hand. [----] [Law of 31 July 1981 on the control of publications and public events, article 2, paragraph 1 (DZIENNIK USTAW No 20, item 99, amended DZIENNIK USTAW No 44, item 204)]. Generally, however, it appears from my pastoral observations that people are changing. They are becoming different. The next person appears to them as a problem which has to be solved. This gives me the greatest joy.

[Question] In your opinion, is the number of people coming to church and wishing to be active in confraternities, to attend Mass, to bring help to others, etc., increasing?

[Answer] Yes. The number of those who wish to act in this way is increasing. People need forms of collective, organized life. They are filled with optimism. Sometimes, they do not even realize how much energy they possess. One needs only to help them discover this. The mood which I clearly sense in our place of worship is as follows: we can, we are able and it is within our power. It is only necessary to trust them. In my opinion, they have succeeded more often than failed. After all, they deserve the credit for the four active confraternities. Confraternity means brotherhood.

[Question] Do you sometimes feel lonely?

[Answer] A priest is always alone and thanks to this he can accomplish a great deal.

[Question] What kind of family do you come from?

[Answer] I come from a family of liberum chamorum [free plebeians]. My father was a railroad man and my mother embroiders tablecloths. There were only six children in our family. Three of us are priests. We left one to carry on the family--he is getting along somehow. One sister works in a hospital and the other one got married. We all like each other very much, support each other and in general, we make up a happy family.

[Question] Do you consider yourself perfect or do you also have some faults?

[Answer] Me, perfect?! I have numerous faults: I pray too little, I yell too much, I arrange things too much, I do not sit enough in the confessional and I have too little personal etiquette on a daily basis.

[Question] That is enough. What are your main virtues?

[Answer] I am working on them. In my pastoral work, I try to follow the road which is laid out by the Vatican Council, by the Holy Father and by the synod. I am inept at it. I have to read a lot, but that depends on the chances.

[Question] Do you have friends?

[Answer] I believe so. For example, fellow priests who are in my age group, many parishioners; I also, undoubtedly, have many enemies, although I never wanted to and do not want to be their enemy.

[Question] Are you never gripped with fear?

[Answer] Fear? Apprehension? I do become afraid but I try to overcome this feeling. My life's motto is: If you have lost money then you have lost nothing at all; if you have lost your health, you have lost half and if you have lost courage, you have lost everything!

[Interviewer] I sincerely thank you for the interview.

[Answer] Unfortunately, we have to end it because in 4 minutes my religion class is starting. In conclusion, I would like to tell you that I am very happy to be living in these times.

9853

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ROMANIA

## EVOLUTION OF NATURE, FUNCTIONS OF ROMANIAN STATE

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 18, 25 Sep 84; No 19, 10 Oct 84

[Article by Univ Prof Dr Ovidiu Trasnea, Univ Lect Dr Gheorghe Andreescu, Univ Prof Dr Aurelian Cosmatchi, Univ Prof Dr Constantin Danciu, Univ Prof Dr Constantin Enache, Cristian Ionescu, Dr Virgil Magureanu, Ion Mitran, Univ Lect Dr Ioan Muraru, Univ Prof Dr Vasile Nichita, Dr Ioan Papaianopol, Univ Lect Dr Nicolae Popa, Dan-Mircea Popescu, principal scientific researcher, Dr Gheorghe Surpat and Dr Ioan Vida: "The Evolution of the Nature and Functions of Our Socialist State"; Parts I and II]

[25 Sep 84 pp 25-29]

[Text] Nicolae Ceausescu: "In the future, too, we will act regarding the continual strengthening of our state, of working-class, revolutionary democracy, regarding the improvement of the planning and management of economic and social activity, of the whole society, regarding the continual expansion of the party's leading role in all fields of activity, seeing in this the guarantee of fulfilling all the aspirations of our people."

The revolutionary transformations produced in Romanian society in the four decades that have passed since the victory in the antifascist and anti-imperialist revolution for social and national liberation, the radical changes occurring in political life, in the system of government, of organization of production and social relations, bear the imprint of our Communist Party's leading role, of its creative policy--fully confirmed by life, by historical experience--of uniting and mobilizing all the forces of the nation to build the new society, to raise the homeland to new heights of progress and civilization.

In a short period, our socialist state has gone through several historical stages, of which the one inaugurated by the ninth congress is the stage richest in accomplishments in the country's whole history. In this period, on the initiative and with the decisive contribution of the party's

secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, profound revolutionary transformations have occurred in the whole complex of political leadership, the state's nature and content, its functions and role in society. Broad and numerous measures have been adopted regarding the improvement of the planning, organization and management of the whole society, the development of socialist democracy, the creation and consolidation of working-class, revolutionary self-management. As a result of all these actions and measures, a strong democratic, unitary and original framework has been created for direct participation by the working class, by all social categories, by the whole populace, in managing all sectors of economic life, in formulating the domestic and foreign policy of our party and state. "We feel," Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out in the speech given at the solemn session devoted to the anniversary of four decades since the accomplishment of the revolutionary act on 23 August 1944, "that through the creation of the new democratic bodies, through the activity of the mass and public organizations, of the Socialist Democracy and Unity Organization, we are providing broad, democratic conditions for the participation of the whole populace in the management of society, of all economic and social activity, in the forging by the people themselves of their own future. We can state that our new working-class, revolutionary democracy is far superior to any form of bourgeois democracy. We will do everything to continually develop the democratic framework of our society, since we have the firm conviction that democracy and socialism, the participation of the people in the management of society, constitute the guarantee of the true freedom of the people, of the peoples, the guarantee of the victory of socialism and communism!"

The implementation of the program regarding Romania's economic and social development in the next 5-year period and the long-term orientations up to the year 2000 "will secure," as it says in the draft directives of the 13th party congress, "Romania's rise to higher and higher levels of progress and prosperity, will lead to the even greater strengthening of our socialist state, of the economic and social force of our society." In this broad revolutionary process--in which all the forces of our nation and the whole populace are engaged, under the leadership of the party and its secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu--the production and social relations, the state's functions, the whole system of our working-class, revolutionary democracy will be improved further.

The discussion organized by the magazine ERA SOCIALISTA was devoted to going deeply into some aspects of our socialist state's evolution, of the nature and functions of the state



of working-class, revolutionary democracy, a discussion in which participated: Univ Prof Dr Ovidiu Trasnea, Univ Lect Dr Gheorghe Andreescu, Univ Prof Dr Aurelian Cosmatchi, Univ Prof Dr Constantin Danciu, Univ Prof Dr Constantin Enache, Cristian Ionescu, Dr Virgil Magureanu, Univ Lect Dr Ioan Muraru, Univ Prof Dr Vasile Nichita, Dr Ioan Papaianopol, Univ Lect Dr Nicolae Popa, Dan-Mircea Popescu, principal scientific researcher, Dr Gheorghe Surpat and Dr Ioan Vida.

We publish the abridged text of the first part of the discussion.

Ovidiu Trasnea: I feel that what must be stressed from the first moment of our discussion is the scientific, profoundly creative approach to the problems of the state in the conception of the Romanian Communist Party and in the far-reaching theoretical work of its secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu. This approach has also found expression, moreover, in the process of the formation and evolution of our socialist state, in an innovative practice of multilaterally studying the transformations of an economic, social and political nature, the changes produced in the social basis of state power, and of re-evaluating, on these grounds, the notions, categories and judgments referring to the dynamics and traits of the political system, and the methods of achieving socialist democracy.

As was pointed out at the solemn session devoted to the anniversary of the revolutionary act on 23 August 1944, Romania has gone through several historical stages of development in the last four decades. In this short period, the Romanian state has been transformed from a state of bourgeois democracy into a socialist state of working-class, revolutionary democracy. The complex changes occurring--especially after the ninth congress--in the political system, in the production and social relations, in the social basis of state power, which have marked this evolution and have imparted a dynamic character to the state's functions, have had as a result the gradual formation of a broad democratic organizational framework within which the right to participate actively in the political life of the country, in the management of society, is provided to all the working people, to the whole populace.

As is known, our party subjects the state phenomenon, its relationships with other components of the system of social and political organization of society, to a continual analysis in order to define its contours, features, role and functions in each stage of development of the country. Our party's conception of the state, of its essence and functions is, above all, dialectical and historical. In this regard, one should note the profound observations that Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, the party's secretary general, made back in the report to the 10th RCP Congress, when, referring to the discussions that took place regarding the socialist state's role, its place in society and its prospect, he pointed out: "Things are sometimes presented in such a way that it could be deduced that under socialism the state would be something immutable, unchanging, eternal, that in this field, with the establishment of the new order, the laws of dialectics would cease to still operate. At the same time, some opinions according to which the process of reducing the state's

role in society should be accelerated are also expressed, ignoring the current domestic and international, concrete-historical conditions. In addition, even now, sometimes, people speak about the dictatorship of the proletariat and about the state as if we were in the early years after gaining political power, when the working class and the state of workers and peasants were performing the historical task of abolishing the exploiting classes."

In order to avoid or eliminate such incorrect theses and some static, ahistorical and nondialectical views on the state and to be able to correctly characterize the evolution of our socialist state in its different stages, I believe that it would be necessary for us to take into consideration all of the domestic and international conditions existing at a given time.

We understand and explain the essence and functions of our socialist state in the light of the dialectical-materialistic conception of history, correlating its development with the revolutionary transformations that have occurred in all spheres of social life, and especially in those of economic life and social structures. It is known, however, the four decades that have passed since the victory in the antifascist and anti-imperialist revolution for social and national liberation in August 1944, and especially the years after the ninth congress, represent the most fertile period in terms of social innovations, a period characterized by the most profound economic, social, political and material transformations in our country's whole history. However, the state has not passively incorporated these changes but, on the contrary, has represented an active factor in the revolutionary transformations, managing, under the Communist Party's leadership, to mobilize the constructive, creative efforts of the masses in the direction of attaining the objectives of socialism. Due precisely to this active role, its functions have had to evolve in conformity with the various stages of the revolutionary process.

But the state is not and has not been the only political entity involved in the socialist transformation of Romania. It is a component of an organic political community--the political system, which, besides the party and the state, also includes other structures, depending on the features of the various stages traversed by our society. In this way, there has been achieved a fair representation of group interests in the political process of drawing the masses into the management of public affairs, into the achievement of radical economic, political and social transformations. Consequently, the evolution of the state, of its functions and its forms of manifestation, cannot be correctly understood without bringing up the socialist state's correlation with the other elements of the political system of society.

These have been just a few specifications, more with a theoretical and methodological character, meant to introduce us to the topics of the discussion initiated by the magazine ERA SOCIALISTA.

Gheorghe Surpat: I feel that the very complex problem of the creation and evolution of our socialist state up to its present stage cannot be tackled without sketching, even briefly, some of the premises for its appearance. With the victory in the antifascist and anti-imperialist revolution for social and national liberation in August 1944, Romania entered a new historical era

in its development, which, as the party's secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, characterized it in the speech given at the solemn joint session, "is the most splendid and prosperous in the whole historical and social development of the people."

After 23 August 1944, the progressive, democratic, patriotic and national forces and the broad masses of people, led by the working class and its revolutionary party, the Romanian Communist Party, concentrating all their efforts on defeating fascism, were actively engaged, at the same time, in the struggle to democratize the state apparatus, to legalize the democratic organizations and trade unions, to achieve innovative economic and social transformations. The formation of the National Democratic Front in September 1944 helped to change the balance of power in favor of the working masses. At the same time, the FND [National Democratic Front] represented an instrument for securing the participation of the masses of people in the exercise of political power, it having a decisive role in the establishment of the state power of the working people. The result of the struggle of the broad masses of people was the formation, on 6 March 1945, of the revolutionary democratic government, in which the representatives of the working class and of the peasantry predominated.

Cristian Ionescu: In this context, I would stress the fact that, initiating the creation of the National Democratic Front, the Romanian Communist Party proposed to all democratic parties, groups and organizations a comprehensive political platform whose strategic goals corresponded to the vital interests of the broad masses of people and to the main directions of the development of Romanian society in its new historical stage. In the documents that contained these proposals, among the profoundly democratic objectives of the revolutionary political struggle were also those of repealing all reactionary and anti-popular laws, decrees and provisions, of achieving fully equal rights for all citizens of the country, regardless of nationality, religion, sex and so on. These objectives opened up the prospects of forging a political system and a government mechanism capable of securing the fulfillment of the burning aspirations of the broad masses of people, indicating, from the very outset, the profoundly democratic and humanistic bases of our party's policy in the field of the management of society.

With the formation of the revolutionary democratic government, the course of political life changed greatly in favor of the revolutionary, progressive and democratic forces, which represented the interests of the broad masses of people. The changes occurring in the character of state power, visible in the political, economic and legal decisions adopted by the new government, show clearly that a mere overthrow of the government did not occur on 6 March 1945. On a political and legislative plane, these changes were reflected in a series of regulatory acts that, through their content, expressed the new developments in the balances of power, the growing political role of the Communist Party in the organization and leadership of Romanian society.

Gheorghe Surpat: Being based on revolutionary-democratic state power, with a marked worker and peasant character, the government acted, throughout that period, against the reactionary groups of the exploiting classes, against the conservative forces, which opposed the natural course of the revolutionary

process, and for the defense of the new political regime, the achievement of structural reforms with a revolutionary, democratic character, under the specific conditions determined by the maintenance, for a while, of the monarchical form of state. The laws and measures adopted, which stimulated the revolutionary-democratic transformations--the agrarian reform, the democratization of public life, the securing of fully equal rights for all working people, for all citizens, regardless of nationality, the establishment of the people's parliament following the victory of the democratic forces in the elections in 1946, the gradual restriction and limitation of private capital through the laws referring to the industrial offices, the monetary reform, the nationalization of the National Bank and so on--are, indeed, revealing in this regard.

The gaining of full political power by the working class, allied with the peasantry and the other categories of working people, and the establishment of the regime of people's democracy--a social-historical process concluded on 30 December 1947 through the proclamation of the republic--marked the inaugural act of the stage of development of Romanian society along the path of socialism and, implicitly, the creation of our socialist state.

Nicolae Popa: The proclamation of the republic represented the fulfillment of a historical desire of our people. This act did not mean a mere change in the form of government but constituted a moment of the greatest importance in the course of the revolutionary process, marking the transition to fulfilling the tasks of the socialist revolution. Establishing the people's republic, the Romanian nation acquired the most democratic form of government in its history. "With the abolition of the monarchy and the proclamation of the republic, on 30 December 1947," it says in our party's program, "Romania entered a new stage of its development. The gaining of full political power by the working class in alliance with the working peasantry and the other categories of working people and the establishment of the regime of people's democracy mark the transition to fulfilling the tasks of the socialist revolution."

Gheorghe Surpat: The people's republic thus represented a form of government of the socialist state. The constitution adopted in April 1948 sanctioned the establishment of the political power of the working class and its allies, the basic civil rights and their material guarantee, it representing, at the same time, the legal framework for achieving profound transformations with a socialist character.

Dan-Mircea Popescu: Under the new historical conditions, the constitution adopted on 13 April 1948, reflecting the early period of the revolutionary transformations, sanctioned the gains of a political nature of the working class and the other working people. Sanctioning the gaining of state power by the people, led by the working class, state sovereignty, the legislative bases of the organization of state power, and truly democratic rights and liberties, the constitution, on the one hand, noted the Romanian state's form, essence, structure and position on an international level and, on the other hand, brought out new and important constitutional principles: the state power of the people, the oneness of state power, the plenitude of the exercise of state power and so on. At the same time, there was formulated the political and legal framework for creating, developing and operating the new bodies of state

power and administration meant, through both their content and their form, to contribute properly to the fulfillment of the tasks of socialist construction, to the legitimation and affirmation of socialist democracy as a necessary and higher stage of political progress.

Joan Muraru: To me, two specifications seem very important for achieving a scientific view of the evolution of the exercise of state power in our country, from the gaining of power by the working people to the achievement of today's state of working-class, revolutionary democracy. First, this evolution must be viewed in its dialectical correlation with the entire economic, social and political development of Romania, development marked by the Romanian Communist Party's decisive role of a guiding political force in society. Second, the process of developing and improving the exercise of state power and the organizational forms in which this activity is carried out--that is, the bodies of state power--has had and is having the highest political and revolutionary levels especially after the Ninth RCP Congress, when Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu was chosen to head the party and the state. The innovative political and philosophical thought of the party's secretary general and his continual practical activity have imparted to the exercise of state power a profound democratic character, originality and real revolutionary traits.

Gaining political power, the working people conferred on it an organization and functions that would respond to its democratic and socialist content, to its new, basic goals, as they now appear expressly formulated in the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Romania, namely: the development of the order and the flourishing of the socialist nation, the growth of the material and cultural well-being of the people, the securing of the freedom and dignity of man, the multilateral affirmation of the human personality.

An initial finding regarding the exercise of state power, as an activity of state leadership, involves its very institutionalization as a form of achieving power, as a natural reflection of the theory and practice of the oneness of state power. The formulation and institutionalization of the oneness of state power in our country as a constitutional principle were achieved in time, in step with the revolutionary process of transforming Romanian society.

Cristian Ionescu: Indeed, in the years after the gaining of political power by the working class, in alliance with the other classes and categories of working people, new constitutional principles were introduced into the political life of the country, principles that formed the basic social and political framework for exercising the prerogatives conferred on the new bodies of state power. These principles (the oneness of state power, the holding of power by the people, the supremacy of the supreme legislative body and the subordination of all other bodies of the state to it and so on) marked the transition from one order to another, the leap from the bourgeois-landlord society to the socialist society.

The transformations that followed in the life of Romanian society and the political objectives set by the Communist Party were also reflected at the level of the constitutional principles, so that the basic laws adopted in the later course of socialist construction improved the guiding principles of state

life, gave them a new contour, some of them disappearing, others substantially changing their content. In addition, during the expansion of the revolutionary process, new principles gradually appeared, principles that, although they did not immediately acquire a de jure legitimation, asserted themselves de facto, as incontestable realities of the Romanian political system.

Ioan Muraru: The supremacy of the law in the normative system was one of these new principles, there being instituted strong guarantees that would give effectiveness to this principle and to the Grand National Assembly's position of a sole legislative body. Without going into details, we must observe, I believe, that these principles were able to be fully realized after the adoption of the constitution in 1965, through the constant and firm actions of our party and especially its secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, who has repeatedly stated that "the acts with a regulatory character regarding the general measures connected with economic and social activity must have a character of law and must be adopted by the Grand National Assembly and, between its sessions, by the State Council."

With the exercise of state power being institutionalized, the state forms that would carry out this activity were also organized, there thus being instituted the category of bodies of state power--a creation of the socialist system. The constitutional evolution of our country after 1965 has had as a result the improvement of the system of bodies of state power, the formation of a democratic and efficient system, which provides, under the Romanian Communist Party's political leadership, the organization of all state, economic and social life at a higher level. This system contains, as supreme bodies of power, the Grand National Assembly, the State Council and the chairmanship of the Socialist Republic of Romania and, as local bodies, the people's councils, democratic bodies for economic and social self-management in the counties, municipalities, cities and communes.

Synthesizing the process of creating and improving the bodies of power, I would bear in mind especially the existence of a democratic parliament with a unicameral structure, the Grand National Assembly, the sole legislative body, under whose leadership and supervision all other bodies of the state perform their activity. In addition, I would stress the creation of the base of the whole system of bodies of the state, which includes the Grand National Assembly and the people's councils, bodies chosen through a universal, equal, direct and secret vote. Entrusting to these bodies, through elections, the exercise of their sovereign power, the people authorize them to form all other bodies of the state (administrative, judicial, prosecutory), to establish their jurisdictions and to oversee their activity.

Since the Grand National Assembly and the people's councils work in sessions, and state leadership is continual in the true sense of the word, the method of continual exercise of power was also institutionalized, there being created state bodies to which prerogatives of the greatest significance, similar to those exercised by the Grand National Assembly in sessions, were entrusted. Thus, at the highest level, the constitution of 1948 founded the Presidium of the Grand National Assembly, its place being taken, in 1961, by the State Council. At the level of the administrative units, some prerogatives of the



people's councils can be exercised between their sessions, under the conditions of the law, by their executive committees or bureaus.

The constitutional regulations regarding the prerogatives of the head of the state have had a distinct evolution from the viewpoint of both content and the organizational forms in which they are carried out. These prerogatives were fulfilled successively by the Presidium of the Romanian People's Republic, by the Presidium of the Grand National Assembly and by the State Council until 1974, when the high position of chairman of the Socialist Republic of Romania was created. The institution of this high office--to which the party's secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, was elected as Romania's first chairman--was due to strong practical necessities and responded to the requirement of a better exercise of state leadership at the highest level. The creation of the position of chairman of the republic also meant, implicitly, the improvement of the exercise of power by the State Council. Moreover, as Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out, through this constitutional measure "legal form" was given "to realities imposed by life, to practices that have demonstrated their utility and necessity, securing the better operation of our state organism on a central level and on all levels."

Nicolae Popa: Returning to the history of the first years of the existence of our socialist state, I would mention the fact that the establishment of the people's republic, as a form of government of the Romanian socialist state, raised the problem of defining it not only by appealing to the general traits of people's democracy, as a form of many states that have stepped onto the path of socialism, but also by trying to bring out, besides the general traits, the individual elements, the traits specific to each country. Thus, the revolutionary replacement of the old state apparatus during the revolution in our country occurred gradually and covered a relatively long period. It began on 23 August 1944 and was finalized, in my opinion, in December 1950, with the elections for the people's councils.

Gheorghe Surpat: The essence of the new state power, expressing the will and interests of the working class, the ruling class in the state, and of the other working people, was defined initially as people's democracy. Later, the thesis according to which people's democracy is a form of dictatorship of the proletariat took root. The Romanian state, having become a socialist state, began to be used completely to abolish the privileges of the exploiting minority, to overcome its opposition to the innovative, democratic process, to secure the transition to forging the new social order. In this way, the state power of the working class manifested itself from the very outset as the most democratic form of government. The experience of our country, as of other socialist countries, shows that the successful achievement of the revolutionary transformations necessarily requires the use of state power, that the socialist state represents the chief and irreplaceable instrument in the construction of socialism.

Ovidiu Trasnea: There is sometimes the tendency to put an equal sign between all forms of manifestation of the dictatorship of the proletariat. In my opinion, the distinction that is usually made between the Paris Commune, Soviet power and people's democracy is insufficient for understanding the features

of the construction of socialism in one country or another. In fact, there are ignored, sometimes, precisely the much more diverse ways in which the dictatorship of the proletariat has been individualized in different countries and which permit nuanced judgments regarding its real existence. This is why it is advisable, I believe, for the judgments regarding the evolution of the socialist state in various historical stages to not be limited to general formulations but to bring out, in particular, in a consistent way, the dialectical unity between the general and the particular, the specific character and the originality of each country's experience.

Virgil Magureanu: Within basic political theory in the middle of the last century, the notion of the dictatorship of the proletariat represented, I believe, a first approximation to the concrete method of organizing the political power of the working masses. In the well-known "Letter to Weydemeyer" of 5 March 1852 (when the term entered the political language of Marxism for the first time), its main meaning was connected with the class struggle, which "leads necessarily to the dictatorship of the proletariat," which, in its turn, "constitutes only the transition to the abolition of all classes and to a classless society."

In such a social and political context as that in the second half of the 19th century in the main European capitalist countries, a context characterized by the harsh confrontation between the bourgeoisie and the proletarian masses, given also the necessity of politically organizing the latter, the term in question reflects simultaneously the idea of firmly opposing the domination of the bourgeois class and that of creating a political-organizational structure that would ensure the success of the revolutionary struggle.

Now, in revolutionary theory, it is a widely accepted truth that the forms and methods of struggle advocated at a given time are strictly influenced by the balance of power existing in the respective society. It can be noted that the class domination of the bourgeoisie--itself a concrete-historical hypostasis of the power held by this class in the capitalist system--is exercised by combining means of coercion with those of persuasion and manipulation. In the initial phases of the development of the antagonism between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, as also follows from the analyses of the classic authors of Marxism, class animosity often appears, especially under critical circumstances, in a much more open and uncompromising form. On the other hand, in that period, representative democracy--which, in this century, due to the enormous pressure exerted by the masses, has permitted representatives of theirs to exist in the system of parliamentary power--was, in many countries, only in the phase in which the masses were able to periodically elect, in particular, exponents of the exploiting classes, who hoaxed them instead of really serving their interests.

It is thus no wonder that the first image of the future power of a proletarian type appears as dictatorship, but it must immediately be added that Marx and Engels conceived the new state as operating on the basis of respect for the representative institutions and through the full exercise of democratic rights and liberties by the people. Back in "The Manifesto of the Communist Party," that is, prior to the use of the notion of the dictatorship of the proletariat



by the classic authors, the indestructible connection between democracy and the power of the masses of people was put in use, it being stated that "the first step in the working-class revolution is the raising of the proletariat to the rank of a ruling class, is the gaining of democracy."

Many exegeses that were made from the works of the classic authors were quite content to repeat the literary form of their theses about the new state power, without dwelling with sufficient depth, in our opinion, on the reasons that were the basis for creating the notion of the dictatorship of the proletariat. There is, I believe, a connection between this term's theoretical origin and the Marxist theses about the state as an instrument for the bourgeoisie's class domination. The state of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie was to be replaced by a new type of state, representing the dictatorship of the working masses. The later dogmatism hypostatized such a judgment, improperly identifying the dictatorship of the proletariat with the highest form of democracy and also regarding it as the perfect image or the final point of the conception of the classic authors about political power. In my opinion, the source of later serious distortions of Marxist political thought and, in particular, the pretext used by some bourgeois denigrators of Marx also reside in the identification of the notion in question with those of democracy and power.

Nicolae Popa: The dialectics of the building of socialism confirm the fact that, in the course of achieving this new type of social movement, a number of concepts, theses and judgments contained in the works of Marx and Engels must be subjected to a concrete-historical interpretation. Time and social practice have validated the content of the Marxist theory regarding the essence of the proletarian revolution, the necessity of establishing socialist state power, of affirming broad, working-class democracy. At the same time, it has been demonstrated that the development of the construction of socialism, a completely new and very complex activity, is occurring under economic and social conditions of a greater and greater diversity, which necessarily presupposes different ways, forms and means from one country to another. In this light, the finding of the most suitable methods of social organization and the concern for the continual improvement of the political system and for the theoretical generalization of the practice of the construction of socialism represent not only a right but also a foremost duty of each communist party.

Virgil Magureanu: Indeed, each communist party that assumes the highly responsible task of guiding its nation's destinies toward the highest form of society known in human history is fully sovereign in choosing the forms and methods of fulfilling this desire; starting from this essential fact, it is the only one that can decide on the historical stages that must be traversed and on the forms in which it will find an ideological reflection suited to the content of these stages. In addition, what the term for the new power will be in each stage and what functions are assigned to this power cannot be established from outside, regardless of what arguments may be invoked. The current evolution of the relations between the communist and workers parties shows with total clarity how necessary each party's creative contribution to the development of revolutionary political thought is so that it may fulfill its historical role. It has also been demonstrated that not the terms used at a given time and not certain fetishized formulas or ones gotten outside the real

flow of political thought, but the living content, completely suited to the basic processes that occur on the plane of power and of political relations in general in one country or another, in one stage of historical development or another, can be invoked to illustrate the creative development of this thought. Nor can the theoretical notions and forms that will clothe this content in one society or another, causing it to enter the world flow of revolutionary thought, be identical throughout the historical process.

Constantin Danciu: The changes occurring in the lawlike process of expanding continually and strengthening the social basis of state power, of accentuating its popular, democratic character dictated, under our country's conditions, the transformation of the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat into a state of working-class, revolutionary democracy. Romania's experience shows once again that the dictatorship of the proletariat represents not an end in itself but a method of putting political and economic power in the hands of the whole populace with a view to the exercise of their sovereignty, the government of the people by and for the people, the achievement of authentic, real democracy, based on worker self-management, on the "self-administration of the producers," as Karl Marx stated. In the current stage, the new democratic bodies for exercising power and our socialist state itself, in whose leadership the working people, the broad masses of people, are participating more and more actively, can no longer be defined as an expression of the dictatorship of the proletariat; they represent a truly democratic form of management of society by the people, a higher form of democracy.

Dan-Mircea Popescu: I would stress the fact that our political system, far from being a rigid system of forms, structures, social relations, and values, has been and is subject, in its entirety, to a continual process of evolution and improvement, a process determined by the laws of economic and social development, expressing the stage of the achievements obtained as well as the new requirements that arise at a given time. As a structural element of the political system, the Romanian socialist state was not conceived as something immutable, fixed, but, on the contrary, with each stage of social development, it has expanded its role and functions, adapting all of its bodies as well as its mode of operation to the basic changes produced in society.

The great quantitative and qualitative revolutionary transformations that will take place in the 1986-1990 5-year period and, in prospect, up to the year 2000--masterfully foreshadowed in the draft directives of the 13th party congress--will cause a new and important step forward along the path of Romania's transformation into a multilaterally developed socialist country. As Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out in the speech given at the solemn assembly devoted to the 40th anniversary of the revolution in August 1944, the further strong development of the production forces, the continual improvement of production and social relations, the raising of the whole system of bodies of our working-class, revolutionary democracy to an even higher level "will lead to the even greater strengthening of our socialist state, of the economic and social force of our society, of the independence and sovereignty of socialist Romania."

Expressing the power of the people, the current Romanian political system is meant, in its entirety, through the concerted action of all its structures and mechanisms, to contribute decisively to the development of socialist democracy, to the securing of the active, conscious and responsible participation of all working people in the management of the whole society. The real possibility created for each citizen of our country, of participating directly in the management of the economic, social and cultural life of the country, represents the corollary to the great revolutionary transformations achieved, on the initiative of the party's secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, in our political system in the years after the ninth congress. The enhancement of this possibility and its transformation into a reality have been marked by the introduction, testing and then generalization of the principle of collective labor and leadership as a general principle of the whole institutional framework of the state, of the whole political system. The transition from one-man leadership to collective leadership, to the democratic leadership bodies, that is, the workers councils and the working people's general assemblies, to self-management, strikingly expresses the truth that under socialism the development of democracy constitutes a historical process during which the superiority of new order asserts itself more and more strongly.

Gheorghe Andreescu: I feel that, in the main, the stages traversed by the Romanian socialist state correspond to the general development of our socialist society. An initial period in the affirmation of our socialist state corresponds, in my opinion, to the stage of forging the unitary socialist economy, which lasted about until the ninth party congress. Although it appeared as a state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, it must, I believe, be specified that as far back as in this period the revolutionary power of the working class manifested itself as the most democratic and popular form of government known in our country, totally subordinate to the vital interests of the working masses, with domination being exercised only over the exploiting classes, against the hostile activities of the reactionary forces.

As a result of the innovative, revolutionary line imparted to our society by the ninth congress and Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, the party provided for the transition to a new stage of the process of developing socialist construction; in this period, a profound and valuable activity of improvement in social life and, in this framework, of development and expansion of socialist democracy was undertaken. Multilaterally analyzing the changes occurring in the content, tasks and functions of our socialist state, the fact that in the new stage it became the exponent of the whole society, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu formulated and substantiated the thesis according to which the essence of our state in the current stage is that of a state of working-class, revolutionary democracy.

Gheorghe Surpat: I too share the opinion that the historical stages through which the unitary Romanian national state has passed in the period of socialist revolution and construction correspond, in the main, to those traversed in this period by Romanian society: the accomplishment of the popular-democratic revolution; the accomplishment of the socialist revolution and the construction of the bases of socialism; the consolidation of socialism and its

technical-material base; the transition to forging the multilaterally developed socialist society.

In the process of the revolution and construction of socialism, the working class used the state to nationalize the main means of production and to abolish the bourgeoisie as a class. In its turn, the establishment of socialist ownership in the decisive sector of the national economy opened up a wide field for the exercise of the economic and organizational function of the state. The state played an important role in the implementation of the RCP's policy of industrializing the country, of organizing agriculture on socialist bases, of developing science and culture, of providing equal rights to all citizens of the country, regardless of nationality, of raising the people's standard of living, of protecting their revolutionary gains, of guaranteeing the national sovereignty and independence of the country.

We ought to note, in my opinion, that during this stage our state also had to cope with difficulties caused by the opposition of the hostile elements, by the poor economic development of the country, by shortcomings and mistakes appearing during the construction of the bases of socialism, by the influence of some theses widely circulated in that early period of the building of the new order in our country, such as the thesis of the intensification of the class struggle in socialist construction or the thesis according to which the dictatorship of the proletariat would be a power unrestricted by law. The application of such theses generated abuses and violations of socialist legality, of the ethics and equity proper to the new social order, which were condemned firmly by the decisions of the plenum of the RCP Central Committee in April 1968. Our party examined the causes and consequences of these errors of the past and took radical steps so that such deviations from the principled line of socialism would no longer be repeated.

The victory of socialism, the forging and continual strengthening of the unity of the whole populace around the party, led to the expansion of the social basis of our state on the scale of the whole society, now made up of new social classes and categories, which all have a socialist nature. The constitution adopted in August 1965 sanctions the content of the state as well as the form of government. It stipulates that Romania is a socialist republic, a state of the working people in the cities and villages, in which all power belongs to the people.

The ninth party congress, an event that--as has been noted here--has a decisive significance in the socialist ascension of Romania, had a role of the greatest importance in devising the strategy and tactics for the development of our country in the new stage that our state had entered, that of the consolidation and then the multilateral development of socialism. The election of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu to head the party and the state and the profoundly scientific, patriotic policy promoted by the Romanian Communist Party and its secretary general conferred new, qualitatively higher dimensions on the unity and cohesion of the nation, the unitary Romanian national state.

Substantiating the state's role in the process of building socialism and communism, the Romanian Communist Party has demonstrated the fact that, far from

experiencing a decline, the prerogatives and functions of the socialist state develop concurrently with the expansion of the tasks of socialist construction. Obviously, an intensification of the state's administrative or repressive character does not occur, but an expansion of its prerogatives regarding the organization and management of all social life.

At the same time, in proportion to our country's advance along the path of forging the multilaterally developed socialist society, the continual development of socialist democracy has occurred and is occurring. A well-knit, unitary and coherent system of working-class, revolutionary democracy, fundamentally different from that existing in the first decade after gaining power, has been instituted, a system in which bodies of state power and administration, public, nonstate organizations, bodies with a dual nature--state and public--and bodies for worker self-management interpenetrate harmoniously in the interest of the participation of all citizens in the management of all fields of activity. In the general context of the development of socialist democracy, steps have been taken to improve the organization and activity of the state and its central and local bodies, to apply the principles of collective labor and leadership and the principle of democratic centralism, to eliminate manifestations of excessive centralism.

The continual adaptation of the state's functions to the requirements for the development of our society, for the growth of the production forces, for the qualitative changes that are being produced in raising the level of scientific knowledge and so on, represents a characteristic of the improvement in the state's activity in the current stage. The brilliant analysis made by the party's secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, at the solemn joint session devoted to the anniversary of the revolutionary act in August 1944, to the evolution of our state, to the radical transformations produced in the economic, social and political life of Romania, indicates that the production and social relations will be improved further and the activity of the whole system of bodies of our working-class, revolutionary democracy will be raised to an even higher level.

Dan-Mircea Popescu: The experience of socialist construction in Romania demonstrates the essential truth according to which the necessity of achieving a full agreement, at the level of each stage of development of society, between the structural and the functional stands out as a basic requirement for harmonious and balanced development of the whole social system. In the light of this requirement, the party stresses the fact that our socialist state, as the supreme representative of the owners and producers, as the organizer of the common life of the whole populace, of the whole nation, is obliged to further expand its role in the scientific, democratic, unitary and planned organization and management of all economic and social activity, in the securing of the development and stimulation of the continual process of forging the multilaterally developed socialist society and advancing Romania toward communism.

Gheorghe Surpat: Taking into account the new stage of development of the country, our party's secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, devised, in order to define the Romanian socialist state, the concept of a state of working-class, revolutionary democracy, which corresponds fully to the realities

in the current stage of constructing the multilaterally developed socialist society, characterized by the continual growth of the leading role of the working class, by the forging and strengthening of the social and political unity of the whole populace. In my opinion, the transformation of our state into a state of working-class, revolutionary democracy must be understood not only in the sense that in the current stage state power has a democratic character but also in the sense that in this stage the democratism of state power includes all social classes and categories, the whole populace. In the early period of the socialist revolution and the construction of the bases of socialism, state power was manifested as a democratic power for the great majority and, at the same time, as a dictatorship against the exploiting minority, toppled from power, but in the current stage the democratism of the Romanian socialist state is manifested fully, it being determined by the socialist nature of Romanian society in all its aspects.

In the current stage, the state is defined as power that belongs to our whole socialist nation, power put in the service of the construction of socialism and communism, of the raising of the well-being and civilization of the people to higher and higher levels. In this regard, our country's constitution sanctions, in its passages, the socialist reality of the country, the fact that in the Socialist Republic of Romania all power belongs to the people, free and masters of their fate. The state secures the achievement of the unitary, planned management of all economic and social activity, the fulfillment of the orientations established by the party with regard to the harmonious development of society, the as full agreement as possible between the production forces and the social relations, protects socialist property and national wealth, guarantees the full exercise of civil rights, provides socialist legality, maintains the rule of law, develops education, science, art and culture and provides health care, and provides for the country's defense and the organization of relations with other states.

[10 Oct 84 pp 18-25]

[Text] We publish in this issue the second part\* of the discussion "The Evolution of the Nature and Functions of Our Socialist State," in which participated: Univ Prof Dr Ovidiu Trasnea, Univ Lect Dr Gheorghe Andreescu, Univ Prof Dr Aurelian Cosmatchi, Univ Prof Dr Constantin Danciu, Univ Prof Dr Constantin Enache, Cristian Ionescu, Dr Virgil Magureanu, Ion Mitran, Univ Lect Dr Ioan Muraru, Univ Prof Dr Vasile Nichita, Dr Ioan Papaianopol, Univ Lect Dr Nicolae Popa, Dan-Mircea Popescu, principal scientific researcher, Dr Gheorghe Surpat and Dr Ioan Vida.

The Unitary System of the State of Working-Class, Revolutionary Democracy

Ion Mitran: As has been noted during our discussion, the theory of scientific socialism says that, in one form or another, in the endless and growing variety of forms and means of the transition to the new order, the essence and

\* The first part of the discussion was published in No 18, 1984.



character of the political power, thus of the state of those who work, derive from the final goals of the revolution: the forging of a society free from exploitation and oppression, the classless society. Naturally, the Marxists do not deny the class character of the political power of the working people and thus of their state, which, for a transitory period, can act as an instrument of domination, of "proletarian dictatorship," as Marx wrote, a dictatorship exercised, however, not to exploit other classes but to free the whole society from exploitation, a form of government that, of course, must not be perpetuated, not take on aspects that would alter its essence. The basic difference between the political power of the exploiting classes and the state created as a result of their removal from power is obvious. Of great diversity in its concrete forms, the state generated by the socialist revolution has a basically new, revolutionary social essence, which results from the dismantling of the old state machine, isolated from the masses, simultaneously with the forging of a new state apparatus, tied to the masses, which continually renews itself by drawing them into leadership.

Under our country's conditions, the process of socialist revolution and construction makes evident the role of state power as a factor with whose help Romanian society has been radically transformed and the political line of socialist industrialization, of the cooperativization of agriculture, of the flourishing of education, science and socialist culture has been implemented. Through the success of socialist production relations throughout the economy, our state has gained a new social basis, expressed by the fact that, in its immense majority, the population of the country is formed of workers, peasant cooperators, intellectuals and other working people, that antagonistic classes no longer exist. Under such conditions, the state expresses the interests of the broad masses of people, and its functions serve to implement them, there thus being more and more evident that prediction of Marx's, in "The Critique of the Gotha Program," according to which, as a result of the revolution, "the state's transformation from a body situated over society into one totally subordinate to it" will occur.

Socialism places on new bases the relations between general interests and individual ones, between the state, as an exponent of society's interests, and those who work. In our party's view, such a phenomenon, qualitatively new on a historical plane, cannot be interpreted and understood simplistically, in the sense of the automatic, mechanical uniformization or dissolution of the positions, necessities and interests specific to the various social categories and groups. The problem that is posed--as our party points out--is that of acting in every way--including by improving the socialist state's mechanisms--to continually expand its democratic character, to rationalize and simplify the state apparatus, to close all channels that can generate bureaucratism.

Virgil Magureanu: The analysis of the socialist society necessarily entails, in my opinion, the determination of the essential correlations between power and democracy, the latter designating not only the manner of exercising or achieving power but also the institutions, the instruments or (what seems the most significant to me) the purpose or basic goals of this power. In their turn, all these aspects derive from an essential fact that also constitutes the most dynamic element of the new social relations: the processual

transformation of the masses of people into an active subject of political power. Only from this element can there also result, I believe, the historical place of socialism as an order clearly superior to the ones that precede it and having the highest potentiality of a political and social nature.

From this viewpoint, the distinctive trait of socialism in relation to any of the earlier orders, built on the reality of class antagonisms, consists of the absence of force as a political instrument for achieving power (this being valid on both planes--domestic and international), the exclusive practicing of a democratic consensus regarding the major acts of political power, in other words, the functioning of power as political authority. This seems to me to be the first essential correlation between power and democracy.

In this regard, I would like to refer to socialist Romania's experience, particularly significant both from the viewpoint of the general laws and values of the new society and due to its original contribution to shaping the universal experience regarding socialism. As a form of the new political regime, our socialist democracy expresses the essence of the working-class, popular character of political power and the functioning of this power as a chief instrument for achieving socialist political values. In contrast to the earlier orders, when it referred particularly to the existing or so-called civil rights and liberties, under socialism the content of democracy becomes broader and broader, it being identified, after a process of continual improvement and maturation of social relations, with a new type of political power--and this due to the new active subject of power, but also to its goals and instruments.

In proportion to the expansion of socialist democracy, the differences between the leaders and the masses are tending to become blurred, both due to the growth of the competence of the masses in the processes of social management and due to the steps, taken consciously by our party, in the direction of bringing the decisionmaking centers closer to the political initiative and control of the masses. This means not only the people's sovereignty over the government but also the people's real possibility of being involved actively and directly in all decisions that are of general importance. The system of working-class, revolutionary democracy set up in our country has created precisely the necessary framework for the participation of all members of society, of the whole populace, in making such decisions. In this regard, democracy expresses not only the essence of political power but also its tendencies of development in the socialist society.

The particular scope of this system of political power--which will undergo a process of continual improvement and consolidation in the inspiring prospect foreshadowed by the draft directives of the 13th party congress and by the orientations substantiated by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu--brings about the possibility of the participation of the broadest categories of working people in making the decisions of power, carrying out these decisions and overseeing their implementation, in forms and with means specific to each stage of the evolution of the new society. At this level of the institutional framework, the socialization of power has, in my opinion, a double meaning: the processual expansion of the system of power until achieving the inclusion within it of all mature social categories belonging to the masses of people and the more



and more organic integration into society of each component institution of the system of power. From this dual perspective, we can correctly judge the growing importance of the political factor in our society and the considerable expansion of its decisive role in the achievement of social progress.

In our socialist order, the system of power expands until including within it all political and public organizations that contribute to the promotion and direct achievement of the economic and political interests and values of the masses of people. Within this framework, the state occupies a special place, there going to it the role of the chief instrument for effectively carrying out the political decisions. In this position, it is totally subordinate to society and its basic interests.

So that the state is not transformed into a bureaucratic organism isolated from the masses but is organically integrated into society, one constant of the concerns of our party has been and is that of enacting a series of measures regarding the political activation of the masses and the strengthening of public opinion's control over state activity, the simplification of the state apparatus and the bringing of it closer to the masses, the elimination of tendencies of formalism and bureaucratism.

At the same time, the public organizations, integrated into the system of our political power, of working-class, revolutionary democracy, participate in the mechanism for managing the socialist society, with their activity being blended with that of the party and state bodies. Since the masses of people are directly integrated into the system of power in an institutional framework whose scope provides for the participation of all social categories, I feel that this fact expresses the basic element of the process of socialization of political power, namely the correspondence between the political system and the system of power.

Starting from these essential changes in the economic base of our society and especially in the structure of its political and social power, from the fundamental, decisive place that the working masses occupy in the system of this power, the use of the notion of a state of working-class, revolutionary democracy to designate the essence of this power is wholly justified. "In view of the transformations occurring in our socialist society, the new, democratic forms of leadership, we can assert, without fear of erring," Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stated, "that the notion of the dictatorship of the proletariat no longer corresponds to the current historical social realities in Romania. First, in Romania, as in the other socialist countries, there is no longer a proletariat, since with the gaining of power and the abolition of bourgeois exploitation the proletariat broke up on its own, it being transformed into a new class, into the ruling working class, owning, producing and benefiting from all national riches. Second, the working class has not intended to exercise and does not exercise power in a dictatorial way but in the most democratic way. Our socialist order provides to all social classes and categories, to all citizens, regardless of nationality, participation, with full equality and freedom, in political life, in the management of all sectors of activity."

Ion Mitran: The effective affirmation of our democratic life in what it has essentially--the achievement of the management of society in the context of the organic unity between the state bodies and the bodies of socialist democracy--signifies, in my opinion, the transcending of the conception of the state as a continual, fixed expression of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The raising of the political relation of alliance, of harmonious cooperation between the social classes, to higher levels represents that new political and social reality that has made it possible to place on a higher plane the conception of the state as an "instrument"--as it has been said and is still said in the social and political literature here and abroad--for building and improving the new order, called upon to adapt its functions to the broad process of general democratization of society.

In this spirit, our party and its secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, have made a number of new clarifications regarding the relationships in which the state and its bodies objectively stand to the working people in Romanian society's current stage of strong affirmation of their socialist unity, of the community of vital interests, a reality under whose conditions the dictatorship of the proletariat would be an unsuitable form of government. The qualitatively new, highly socialist essence of the relations between the working class, the peasantry and the intelligentsia cannot, of course, "support" anachronistic relations of dictatorship from class to class, relations of subordination. In connection with this, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stated that "we posed the problem of abandoning the thesis of 'the dictatorship of the proletariat' and adopting a thesis that would reflect better the current stage of development of the Romanian socialist society, namely the thesis of 'the state of working-class, revolutionary democracy.'"

Thus, the documents of the party and the work of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu have subjected to a continual theoretical reinvigoration the conception of the socialist state, called upon to adapt its functions to the broad process of general democratization of society. Of particular value and significance in this regard are the ideological clarifications regarding the relations between the party and the state, a theoretical problem constantly discussed in recent times in the communist and working-class movement, with some authors continuing to "see" the state's role now minimized in administrative prerogatives and now kept at the stage, considered almost eternal, of the dictatorship of the proletariat, at the character of an "instrument"--in the old sense--of historical development. Judging that a hierarchy of roles cannot be established between the two components of the political system--the party and the state--Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu notes that "the party's leading role in our socialist society does not replace under any circumstance the state bodies, does not diminish and cannot diminish in any way the responsibility of the state bodies to the laws and the people." Thus, the state and the state bodies are directly responsible for the correct performance of all economic and social activity, for the strengthening of socialist order and discipline, and the party activists and the communists who work in the state bodies are responsible to the laws and the people for their activity.

From the consideration that the state will continue to retain important functions for a long period of time, including in the communist society, to have a

prominent role in the organization of social life, in the development of society, there follows the requirement of expanding its role and functions in a new expression, reflecting the new reality, of improving the activity of the whole state apparatus, of tightening even more strongly its ties with the masses of working people, of promptly and sensibly solving the problems of economic and social life. A component of the political system, the state of working-class, revolutionary democracy acts as a unit, reflecting the new relationships between its structures and organization, as a factor of power, and the creative capacity of the masses of people. Hence too the need to transcend, in the research in the social sciences, in the teaching of them in the educational system, the narrow meaning that is given to the term "instrument" in the hand of someone, of a single class, as, in its time, the formula of the dictatorship of the proletariat was understood and practiced. In the light of our party's new approaches, the term as such, of an instrument or a factor, cannot be understood except, in my opinion, in the sense that, in proportion to the development of the process of homogenization of the socialist society, the state changes, with its forms of action, its functions also changing. This means that, in the prospect of forging the multilaterally developed socialist society, of creating the premises for the transition to communism, the state's functions will change even more, as a result of the new quality of social government, government within which the political leadership belongs to the Communist Party, the vital center of our socialist nation.

There is thus a dialectical relationship between the development of the social basis of the state and the evolution of its constructive role, of its functions. As a social-historical phenomenon, the socialist state undergoes continual development, and its system of organization is continually improved under the influence of the new social, economic and political processes, of the necessity of meeting the requirements for economic and social progress. The state sees to the continual strengthening of socialist ownership, to the fulfillment of the rights and freedoms of the citizens, to the strengthening of legality and the rule of law. It secures the implementation of the policy drawn up by the party in the fields of economics, education, science, art and culture, and health care, and organizes our country's relations of international collaboration and cooperation.

As a more general conclusion, pointed out in our discussion, we could say, I believe, that the historical experience of the struggles for national and social liberation, of the socialist revolutions, of socialist construction in a large number of countries, has brought out the dynamic role of the political system, with the new order marking a basic change in the relationship between the spontaneous and the conscious. This historical fact has undoubtedly helped to intensify the discussions about the role and mission of the political parties, of the state, of democratic life. Thus, on many planes, the evolution of political power as a system from the early stage of socialist revolution, known in history as a stage of the dictatorship of the proletariat, to the state of working-class, revolutionary democracy signifies the widening of the area of political creativity of the masses of people.

Constantin Danciu: I feel that in the current stage of our country's development the state has become the representative of our whole society, of all the

working people, regardless of nationality, who participate directly in devising the party's policy and in implementing it.

The exercise of this role is acquiring, in my opinion, some very interesting features. I am thinking, for instance, of the state's capacity of general administrator of the property of the whole populace. Our party's secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, has made a thorough analysis of the character of socialist property in the current stage of the development of Romanian society, on the whole, stating that the socialist property of the whole populace has been incorrectly identified with state property. The state is not and must not be an owner in the legal sense of the word, with socialist property belonging to the people, to the working people, in their threefold capacity of owners, producers and beneficiaries. The institution of the working people's right to possess shares of the property of the enterprises and to obtain, depending on this share, additional income from profits has the role of strengthening even further the working people's conviction that they are in complete charge of all material assets in our society, that to them goes the high responsibility of protecting and developing this property. At the same time, within these new ownership relations, the individual incomes of each working person are tied even more closely to the achievement of production, to the growth of labor productivity and of the economic efficiency of the entire activity.

To the state, as the representative of the whole populace, goes the role of exercising control over the manner of administration of the property of the whole populace, ensuring that self-management, self-administration, and continual growth in economic efficiency are steadily accomplished as well as possible in all units. To the same degree, the state is called upon to also see to the protection of cooperative property, with both forms of property having to be equally protected, consolidated and improved, as a decisive element of the unitary economic base of our socialist society.

#### The Growth of the Role of Our Socialist State in the Management of All Economic and Social Activity

Ovidiu Trasnea: The defining of the essence of our state in the current stage as a state of working-class, revolutionary democracy is correlated, in the view of the party's secretary general, with the highly important thesis of the continuity of the revolutionary process. It makes evident the working-class and, at the same time, democratic character of our state as well as its revolutionary function, which manifests itself both in protecting the revolutionary gains of the working people and in expanding and consolidating these gains by placing all social relations on the firm foundation of socialist ethics and equity, of socialist humanism.

At the same time, this definition makes evident the role of the working class as the guiding social force of society. Naturally, this role of the working class is correlated with the process of homogenization of our socialist society. I am dwelling on this matter because a so-called "contradiction" between the affirmation of the growing role of the working class, as the guiding social force of society, and the socialist homogenization of society is invoked

in some works of political science published abroad. In reality, the objective sense and the main path of social homogenization reside in accenting the common basic interests of the various social categories as working people. And on a subjective plane, the process of homogenization signifies and finds expression in the more and more organic assimilation, by all social categories, of the values of socialism, of which the working class is a consistent bearer. In fact, this process--which will be accentuated in ensuing years, according to the provisions contained in the draft directives of the 13th party congress--is leading to the consolidation of the state of working-class, revolutionary democracy.

Ioan Vida: I feel that this consolidation is connected with the continual adaptation of our state's role and functions to the economic and social realities, to the social and political practice of our society, constantly enriched with the living experience and thought of the working people, expressed in the forums of our socialist democracy.

The continual adaptation of the state's role and functions, of the content and forms of its activity to the requirements of each stage of development of the country dictated the abandonment of the repressive, class function of the state, the abandonment of intermediate links in state activity, the elimination of one-man leadership and so on, with their place being taken by the expansion of the organizational role of the state, by the consistent promotion of social functions of it, by the improvement of the style and methods of working. In the characterization of the state of working-class, revolutionary democracy, no less important are the changes occurring on the plane of the organizational structures meant to provide for the decisive role of the supreme bodies of state power, their control over the development of all state activity, in accordance with the people's will expressed in their legislative forum, on the basis of harmonious collaboration with the bodies of working-class, revolutionary democracy in our country.

It can be judged, I believe, that the state of working-class, revolutionary democracy, a chief political factor in raising our homeland to new peaks of progress and civilization, represents a higher organizational form of the power of the people, found in full agreement with the level of development of the production forces and capable of helping to mold social relations, in accordance with the requirements that the real holder of power--the people--places, particularly through the Romanian Communist Party, before the leadership of our society.

The evolution of the role and functions of the state of working-class, revolutionary democracy in the current stage of development of our country also finds a corresponding reflection in the action of restructuring the relations between the central bodies and the local ones, in the growth of local autonomy and the growth of the prerogatives of the people's councils. In recent years, the local bodies of state power have acquired a number of new tasks and prerogatives, which have led to the growth of their responsibility in solving the problems of the counties, municipalities, cities and communes. In my opinion, through the direct involvement of the people's councils in the achievement of economic and financial self-administration, of self-financing, self-supply and

self-management, the whole process of exercising state power on a local level is being improved, there making itself felt more and more in its content and forms of manifestation the revolutionary spirit that animates the working people in the threefold capacity of owners, producers and beneficiaries of national wealth. The fulfillment of the greater prerogatives of the people's councils is taking place within a new democratic framework, utilized through the self-management of the territorial-administrative units, a process that directly involves the participation of the citizens in the country's localities and counties in the activity of the local bodies of state power. I feel that all these things are components of a process which is developing progressively and which has contributed to the production of substantial changes in the state's role and place, in its functions.

Aurelian Cosmatchi: Through the functions that they perform, our socialist state and its bodies, always under the control of the broad masses of people, provide for the steady implementation of the domestic and foreign policy of the party. In my opinion, the basic tasks of the state of working-class, revolutionary democracy, reflected at the level of its functions, involve: the achievement of all processes of economic and social development on the basis of the sole national plan and the plan in territorial form; the consolidation and continual improvement of production and social relations; the creation and development of the technical-material base of socialism and communism; the achievement of control over the amount of labor and consumption; the achievement of distribution in conformity with the socialist principles of socialist ethics and equity; the providing of the conditions for the continual development of education, science and culture; the raising of the material and spiritual well-being of the working people; the protection of the revolutionary gains, of the socialist rule of law and social order; the securing of the respecting of civil rights and liberties, of the norms of socialist social cohabitation. At the same time, there go to the socialist state very important tasks in securing the strengthening of the country's defensive capacity, developing relations of multilateral collaboration with all states of the world, regardless of social order, and actively participating in solving the problems of the contemporary world.

The functions of the socialist state are determined, of course, by its existence as a chief factor of political power in society, by its role in various stages of socialist and communist construction. I believe that state organization and management of society must be understood as part of the general mechanism for operating and regulating the socialist political system. Under the party's political leadership, the state--using the means that are proper to it, and especially the exclusive right to adopt decisions that take the form of laws, decrees and other regulatory acts--provides the organization, unitary management, and control of all economic and social activity in conformity with the requirements and interests of the working people, of socialism and communism. The providing of democratic and scientific management, based on knowledge of the laws of social development, on the wider and wider participation of the working people in all social and political life, is proper to our state.



The function of providing the organization, planning and control of economic and social activity is one of the socialist state's most important functions, organically connected with the production of material assets--the decisive field of socialist progress, an integrating synthesis, in my opinion, of all the functions of the state. The performance of this function can occur only under the conditions in which the socialist state is the possessor of all the factors for managing economic and social life and relies in its activity on the principle of democratic centralism. Consequently, the management of the national economy on the basis of a sole national plan is one of the basic, essential attributes of the sovereignty of the socialist state. The planning activity is based on securing the responsibility of the people's councils and the general assemblies for establishing the plans in each unit, rationally administering the material, financial and human resources with a view to the continual development of the production forces and of national wealth and the raising of the general well-being of the people.

As follows from the draft directives of the 13th Congress of the Romanian Communist Party, the intensification of the qualitative aspects of economic growth, the harmonious development and the improvement of the activity in all fields of economic and social life lie in the center of the concerns regarding Romania's economic and social development in the 1986-1990 5-year period and, in prospect, up to the year 2000. A highly important role in attaining these objectives goes to our socialist state.

Constantin Enache: I believe that in approaching the problem of the state's functions it is necessary for us to also bear in mind the following aspects: What elements persist with regard to the state's role and functions in the various stages of socialist construction? What new elements appear? What elements reduce their significance or even disappear in the course of time?

The common element that pervades the entire historical evolution of our socialist state is, I believe, the growing affirmation of its very essence as a state of the people, created by the people, in their interest, in that of carrying out the process of socialist construction, of economic and social development.

In my opinion, in the years of the construction of socialism, changes in the state's functions have arisen in the following directions in Romania: a) the changing of the place and role of each of these functions, especially in the sense of the growth of the importance and significance of the economic and organizational function and the cultural and educational function; b) within each of the functions of the socialist state, through the accentuation of some aspects and the restriction of others; c) qualitative innovations in the methods and forms of exercising the state's role and functions, in the concrete mode of organization and management, of fulfillment of the tasks of development. It can be said that every time, in accordance with the new realities and conditions, there have appeared and are appearing new tasks, which cannot but also entail improvements in the whole system of state bodies, in the exercise of the state's role and functions.

From this perspective, I want to dwell a bit more on aspects that involve especially the state's economic role in the current stage of development of our country.

The draft directives of the 13th party congress open up new, wider and wider prospects for the multilateral economic development of socialist Romania. "The basic objective of the 1986-1990 5-year plan," it says in the draft directives, "consists of the further strong development of the production forces and the technical-material base, the implementation of the party's program for forging the multilaterally developed socialist society for the most part, the creation of the conditions needed for the transition, in the next period, to the achievement of the higher phase of the socialist society, to the construction of communism in Romania."

It is understood that, from this perspective, in future years, greater functions and prerogatives in the management of economic and social activity will go to our socialist state. I am thinking, in particular, about the strong development of the production forces, about the further improvement of the planning and management of the economy, about the improvement of production and social relations, in accordance with the new requirements for developing our society, about the firm application of the principles of the economic and financial mechanism, and so on.

Of course, the attainment of these objectives requires constant concern on the part of the state's bodies that control, guide or perform economic activity, for solving the problems of the organization of production, of social practice, and an even stronger accentuation of the qualitative aspects of the work in all fields of economic and social life.

As is known, in the light of the conception of our party's secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, the state is not and must not be the owner of the means of production in a legal sense. At the same time, however, it fulfills a very big role in our society. This finds a striking expression in the constant effort by the socialist state, under the party's leadership, to coordinate development as a unit on the scale of the whole country. We cannot overlook the fact that, objectively, the harmonization of all development, subordinated to the basic goal of the party's policy, requires the unitary coordination of all economic movement, which, under the current conditions, is not possible without the state, without the act of government, which is becoming more and more complex both in breadth and in depth.

In connection with this process, I believe that, at present, in particular, the strengthening of the state's role and responsibility in managing, in administering, social wealth as rationally as possible, in raising the efficiency of all economic activity, is highly topical. On the one hand, it is necessary for the socialist state to secure the suitable functioning of the state bodies and the improvement of the results that are obtained in their activity. Through the planning bodies, through the financial and credit system, through the price and rate system, through the system of material incentives for the working people and the economic units, and so on, the socialist state is called upon, more and more, to set in motion the economic interests--general,



collective or group and individual--to stimulate both collective and personal responsibility in the administration of material and monetary resources, to develop a thrifty spirit, responsibility in the allocation and use of resources, concern for measuring and weighing each particle of the respective resources.

In this direction, it is important to strengthen the economic, financial and banking control on all levels of the labor process, both in the phase of preparing the plan and in that of fulfilling it. It is also necessary to always take into account the fact that the general requirement of respecting certain norms in the labor process and in the general behavior of the members of society is addressed to people unequal from a viewpoint of training and consciousness, and as a consequence, it turns up unequally in the results obtained, in their contribution to economic and social development. Therefore, the state bodies have the duty to act more strictly in the direction of increasing the degree of instruction and the level of consciousness of all the working people. Objectively, the cultural and educational function of the socialist state is thus growing as well, and the factor of quality in the whole instructional and educational process is taking on greater and greater significance.

Aurelian Cosmatchi: Indeed, the function of organizing and managing education, science and culture, of developing the socialist consciousness of the working people, which asserted itself as far back as at the establishment of socialist state power, is acquiring in the current stage a richer and richer content and is covering a wider and wider sphere of activities, such as: the intensification of the socialist education of the masses, the raising of the level of culture and knowledge, the further development of education, science, art and culture, the improvement of professional training, and so on. As a result of the affirmation of the new stage of the contemporary scientific and technical revolution, our state is expanding its activity to organize and optimally utilize scientific research, in conformity with the basic requirements for developing our socialist society, to organically integrate education and research with production and to further train the highly skilled work force.

The affirmation of the state's cultural and educational function presupposes, on the one hand, the struggle against backward, idealistic, mystical conceptions in society and, on the other hand, the formation and development of the socialist consciousness, based on the scientific dialectical-materialistic conception, on scientific socialism's treasury of ideas, on the principles of socialist ethics and equity. The content of this function is thus becoming richer and richer and more and more complete, it undergoing continual improvement and adaptation to the requirements for forging the multilaterally developed socialist society and advancing toward communism.

At the same time, our socialist state is performing constant activity to solve social problems better and better. The Directive Program for Raising the Standard of Living in the 1981-1985 Period and for Continually Improving the Quality of Life, adopted by the 12th party congress, and the draft directives of the 13th congress put in the center of attention, further, man and his needs, the meeting of the needs of all members of society as well as possible, in accordance with the possibilities that we possess in each stage and with

the scientifically substantiated consumption rates. The meeting of this function's requirements, continually growing and expanding, reflects the profound revolutionary humanism of the socialist order and is being manifested in the following directions, in my opinion: the growth of the material and spiritual well-being of the working people, of the whole populace; the providing of social assistance and health to the population; the implementation of the demographic policy of developing and maintaining the youthfulness of our socialist nation; the organization and systematization of the localities; environmental protection; the development of public services; housing construction; and so on.

Constantin Enache: Returning to the economic role and functions of our socialist state in the current stage, I would like to stress in particular the greater concern for rationally combining the unitary and central management of the national economy with the autonomy of the units. Unitary management by the state and democratism do not exclude one another but, on the contrary, presuppose one another. The question that is raised is the following: In what direction must improvement occur when we are speaking of state bodies? In essence, in the light of the party documents, there stand out: the functioning of the state bodies with maximum efficiency in all links of the organizational structure of the economy; the growth of their responsibility in exercising all prerogatives that they have; the manifestation of greater strictness by them, in accordance with the existing regulations, in fulfilling these functions; the avoidance of phenomena of excessive centralism; the full utilization of the existing widely democratic organizational framework; and so on. Through the whole system of factors that it possesses, our socialist state secures the compliance of the activity of the economic and territorial-administrative units with the general choices regarding the general development of the country.

Aurelian Cosmatchi: I feel that we should also refer in our discussion to an aspect of the greatest significance: It is a question of the external functions of our socialist state in the current stage.

The construction of the multilaterally developed socialist society is occurring under complex international conditions, those of the manifestation of the policy of force and of redivision of the world into spheres of influence, of the intensification of the arms race and the worsening of the danger of nuclear war. Under such circumstances, the Romanian state is devoting full attention to the strengthening of the country's defensive capacity, to the supplying of modern means of fighting to the army, to the strengthening of the activity of the patriotic guards, to the military training of the young people, to the organization of the territorial defense, in fact, to the active participation of the whole populace in protecting the revolutionary gains, the independence, freedom and sovereignty of the country. At the same time, Romania is developing its collaboration with the armies of the member states of the Warsaw Pact and of the other socialist countries and with the armies of other friendly countries.

An expression of the unity between domestic policy and foreign policy, of the dialectical relationship between the national and the international, socialist

Romania's activity on a world level is providing for our country's growing participation in the international division of labor, in the exchange of material and spiritual values. Romania is strengthening its friendship and solidarity with all socialist countries, is developing its collaboration with the developing and nonaligned countries, is expanding its ties in the spirit of peaceful coexistence with all states, regardless of social order.

Cristian Ionescu: The initiatives, proposals and actions of Romania and Chairman Nicolae Ceausescu devoted to stopping the arms race and achieving disarmament, especially nuclear disarmament, to preventing war and safeguarding world peace, to respecting the right of the peoples to existence, to free and independent development, constitute a striking expression, with particular significance, of the fulfillment of the external functions of our state. As Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stressed at the solemn session devoted to the anniversary of four decades since the accomplishment of the historic act on 23 August 1944, "the basic problem of our era is the stopping of the arms race, the transition to disarmament and, in particular, nuclear disarmament, the defending of the supreme right of the people, of the peoples, to existence, to life, to freedom and independence, to peace."

As we all know, Romania is acting decisively to eliminate the policy of dictation, of threat of force, of redivision of the world into zones and spheres of influence, is militating to eliminate the states of tension and confrontation from world life. In the view of our party and its secretary general, no matter how thorny and long the negotiations may be, the solving of any disagreements or conflicts between states, of any international problems, through political channels represents the only rational, viable alternative to the policy of war, of force and of interference in the affairs of other states, of violation of the sovereignty and independence of the peoples, constitutes the only choice that the international community ought to adopt in the interest of the freedom, peace and progress of mankind.

The Romanian actions and initiatives aimed at preventing war, solving international disagreements exclusively through political channels and securing peace are blended organically with our country's consistent efforts to eliminate underdevelopment and establish a new world economic and political order, with the continual concern for democratizing international relations, for establishing, between all nations of the world, relations based on equality, on respect for national sovereignty and independence, on noninterference in the affairs of other states.

Vasile Nichita: In my opinion, the policy promoted by our party and its secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, of continually improving the state's functions, of developing socialist democracy, reveals its basic senses and meanings in the accomplishment of the conscious and organized, fully committed and responsible participation of the working class, the peasantry and the intelligentsia, of all the working people, regardless of nationality, in the management of social life--in other words, in achieving the government of society by the people themselves, free and masters of their destiny.

In this regard, our party starts from the view that socialism--the order called upon to abolish economic and social inequality, to secure the affirmation of new principles in all fields, the harmonious union of personal interests with the general aspirations of society, the fuller and fuller manifestation of the personality--and revolutionary, working-class democracy are inseparable. In this view, the order must be not only a society capable of providing to its members a dignified, civilized material and spiritual life, of fully meeting their rational needs, but also a society capable of fulfilling the highest aspirations of freedom and happiness, of providing possibilities of unrestricted participation by the working people in solving the basic problems of society's development. In contrast to the bourgeois society--which, being based on deep economic, political and social inequalities, on exploitation and oppression, on the indomitable opposition of class interests, inevitably puts up impassable limits for the participation of those who work in adopting the basic decisions--socialism makes not only possible but also objectively necessary the direct, unrestricted, organized and conscious involvement of the working class, our new order's ruling class, of the peasantry and the intelligentsia, of the whole populace, in forging the socialist and communist future.

Starting from the decisive role of the masses of people in the work of building the new life, from the finding that the working people's new capacity--of owners, producers and beneficiaries of the results of their own activity, of holders of the political power--entails their participation in the management of economic and social life, of the whole society, our party has devoted and is devoting, especially after the ninth congress, constant attention to placing all fields of activity on profoundly democratic bases, within a suitable organizational framework, which allow to all working people, to the whole populace, effective participation in the management of society, the unhindered exercise of democratic rights and liberties.

The essence, role and superiority of the new, revolutionary democracy derive from the nature of the deep changes that Romanian society has undergone in the years of socialist revolution and construction, especially in the last two decades, from the innovative thought and action of the party's secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu. Working-class, revolutionary democracy is based on socialist forms of ownership, on socialist relations of distribution, on the holding of the political power by those who work, led by the working class, on the suppression of any social and national discrimination, on the achievement of fully equal rights for all citizens of the country, regardless of nationality, on the existence of a democratic framework capable of securing the exercise, by the working people, of their capacity of owners, producers and beneficiaries of the material and spiritual assets, their direct participation in the organization and management of social life.

From the thorough analysis of the development of the work of forging the new order, our party has drawn important theoretical, ideological and practical conclusions regarding the democratic management of economic and social activity, including--as has been pointed out here--the abandonment of the conception of one-man leadership and the formation of the collective leadership bodies, the development of working-class democracy, the necessity of achieving under

socialism the highest form of democracy, materialized in the direct participation of the masses in the management of society. There has been steadily promoted working-class democracy--self-management and self-administration--which represents, under our country's conditions, the most suitable form of manifestation of the working class's role of a guiding force in the socialist society, of effective participation by the masses in solving the major problems of the forging of the new order.

Gheorghe Andreescu: Indeed, the experience of building the socialist society in our country demonstrates the organic connection between socialism and democracy in all the historical stages through which the new social order is passing in the multilateral process of advancing toward communism. The Romanian Communist Party and its secretary general start from the premise according to which the achievement and affirmation of the superiority of the new socialist order require the wider and wider participation of the whole populace in conscious historical creation, in building the new socialist and communist civilization. "Our working-class, revolutionary democracy," Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu points out, "constitutes a factor of particular importance for steadily advancing the homeland along the path of socialism and communism!" In this original and bold view, the securing of the affirmation and superiority of socialist, working-class, revolutionary democracy constitutes a basic index of the superiority of the new social order, a condition and an essential factor for the affirmation of the working people in their capacity of conscious forgers of their own history.

Socialism, by its very essence, secures the affirmation of a new type of political power, of a new, higher type of democracy, because the new order is achieved only consciously, with the people, by the people and for the people, through their active participation in the management of all economic, social and political life. Participation thus becomes one of the basic means of satisfying the vital interests of the working people, of fulfilling them as active subjects of the decisionmaking acts.

Vasile Nichita: The complex, original, coherently articulated system of socialist democracy set up in Romania, unique of its kind, harmoniously combines direct democracy--whose concretization finds its expression in the whole set of forms and methods of manifestation of worker self-management, in the party's lively, continual and effective dialogue with the masses, in the extensive discussion of the draft laws and the basic problems of domestic and foreign policy with the working people--with representative democracy, widely practiced in the formation, functioning and exercise of state power both on a central level and on a local level. Thus, the state elements are combined with the public ones; the unitary democratic management of the whole country with the forms of worker self-management in all fields and at the level of all economic and social units; and the exigencies of scientific organization and substantiation with those of the direct involvement of the broad masses in all stages of preparing, adopting, applying and overseeing the decisions, of devising and implementing the policy of forging socialism and communism.

With good reason, in the speech given at the solemn session devoted to the passage of 40 years since the accomplishment of the revolutionary act on

23 August 1944, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out: "We can state that our new working-class, revolutionary democracy is far superior to any form of bourgeois democracy." We will do everything, the party's secretary general stated, "to continually develop the democratic framework of our society, since we have the firm conviction that democracy and socialism, the participation of the people in the management of society, constitute the guarantee of the true freedom of the people, of the peoples, the guarantee of the victory of socialism and communism!"

I consider it necessary for us to stress, at the same time, that the Communist Party--the vital center of our whole society--constitutes the main nucleus of the system of socialist democracy. It expresses the vital interests and the dearest aspirations of all classes and categories of working people and, in this capacity, is the political source of the decisions that involve the entire development of the country, the force that propels, unites and blends all components of the political and social system.

As regards the state, it--in its capacity of supreme representative of the owners and producers, of organizer of the common life of the whole populace, of general administrator of the property of the whole populace, in close collaboration with the bodies for worker self-management--is called upon to provide the unitary, planned management of all economic and social activity, the balanced and proportional development of society, a suitable ratio between different branches and sectors. Throughout the period of forging the multilaterally developed socialist society and advancing toward communism, the state has to fulfill an important role in the organization of economic and social activity, in the protection of the revolutionary gains, of the independence and sovereignty of the homeland.

Aurelian Cosmatchi: The Romanian Communist Party's programmatic theses regarding the place and role of the system of socialist democracy in the life of our society have their source in the full understanding of the dialectical relationship between the basic strategic objectives and the affirmation of democratic life within the framework of the conscious ascension toward higher social-historical phases. Starting from the requirements for social progress in the current stage and in the future, our party--as has been said in the discussion--has created a democratic system, unique of its kind, in which the direct representatives of the masses decide on the destinies of the country, on the ways to steadily implement the program for forging the multilaterally developed socialist society and advancing toward communism, on the domestic and foreign policy of the country. This system reflects, in the most striking way, the original and innovative character of the conception of our party and Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu regarding the organization and management of social life. It was created by starting from the consideration that the organizational forms and the activity specific to them must not be static but must be improved constantly, in accordance with the requirements of each stage of development of society.

From this perspective, the dynamics of the system of our socialist democracy, a result and cause of the requirements for continually improving the overall social system, are being achieved, in my opinion, both through the creation of



new institutions and organizations and through the appearance of new functions within the existing bodies, functions expressing the enrichment of the content and forms of their activity, as well as through the modification of the methods of performing existing functions in the sense of their wider affirmation, in complete agreement with the requirements of social progress, of socialist democratism and of revolutionary humanism.

Socialist democracy is achieved, on the one hand, as a set of political institutions, integrated structurally and functionally into the socialist system, and, on the other hand, as a set of democratic principles and forms that are the basis for social action in all fields, such as: the leading role of the working class, democratic centralism, local autonomy, collective leadership, socialist legality, revolutionary humanism, socialist patriotism and so on. At the same time, socialist democracy is expressed in the broad system of basic democratic rights and liberties, provided and guaranteed through the entire economic and social development of the country along the path of socialism and communism.

#### The Dialectical Relationship Between the Communist Party and the Socialist State

Gheorghe Andreescu: I feel that we should also stress here the exceptional theoretical and practical importance--for the optimum, unitary, harmonious and efficient functioning of the system of our socialist democracy--of the thesis substantiated by the party's secretary general regarding the necessity of providing an equilibrium and a suitable agreement between the democratic bodies and the state bodies; the two categories of bodies are not counterposed but, on the contrary, work together harmoniously, forming the unitary system of socialist democracy, of the state of working-class, revolutionary democracy. The harmonious combining and optimum functioning of all constituent elements of the system of our socialist democracy, in conformity with the specific purpose for which they were created, constitute, in my opinion, a basic requirement for the unity of our social and political life, for the speedup of progress in relation to the powers of socialism, for the optimum functioning of the overall socialist social system.

The unity of socialist Romania's democratic system is a requirement and, at the same time, an indispensable condition for the equilibrium of our political life, for its functionality, for the efficiency and superiority of socialism.

Virgil Magureanu: Since the masses of people are integrated directly into the system of power within an institutional framework whose scope provides for their participation in the management of the whole society, the participation of the public organizations, integrated into the system of our political power, of socialist democracy, expresses, in my opinion, the basic element of the process of socialization of political power, namely the correspondence between the political system and the system of power.

The adoption of the principle of worker self-management represents a qualitatively higher stage in the process of socialization of power, starting right from its economic foundation. At this level, the above-mentioned principle



dictates that the power derive from the general assembly containing all the working people in the enterprise, whose prerogatives are fundamental as regards its general management; the adoption of the decisions referring to this management takes place at the lowest possible level, where they are to be carried out, which permits the gradual involvement of all working people in their adoption.

Evolving within the framework of democratic centralism and affirming the necessity of unitary discipline in fulfilling the basic tasks of the development of our socialist society in its entirety, self-management is, I believe, the specific form of manifestation of the political and production activity of all the working people through which are provided the right and, at the same time, the responsibility of the masses in the process of directly participating in the resolution of all economic, social and political problems on all levels of society. Thus, worker self-management becomes the fullest expression of the process of socialization of power, of the development of the working people's creative activities, of the growth of their capacity to prepare or influence the decisions that are made on the economic, political and social plane.

Gheorghe Surpat: I would like to stress the idea--already mentioned here--according to which the fulfillment of the functions of the state of working-class, revolutionary democracy in the unitary management of all social life is occurring under the conditions of the manifestation of the party's role as the nation's vital center, of the affirmation of a dialectical agreement between the state and the party. The proper functioning of the state of working-class democracy and the exercise of the party's role of a political leader are being achieved--as has been said--under the conditions of the participation of the broad masses of people in the management of society, of the drawing of all social classes and categories into the activity of the state.

The party and the state, as component parts of the political system, fulfill diverse functions, exercised, however, under the leadership of the RCP, whose role consists of uniting the whole populace's efforts in forging the multilaterally developed socialist society. At the expanded plenum of the RCP Central Committee on 1-2 June 1982, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu drew attention to the necessity of continually taking into account the functions and role of each of these organisms: the state, as supreme representative of power, adopts laws and other management decisions binding on all citizens of the country, while the party is the guiding political force in society; its bodies cannot replace, of course, the state bodies. To the state go functions and tasks in society that it can fulfill with means proper to it, different from the means of the party work. Any takeover of prerogatives of the state leads to the reduction of the responsibility of the state bodies.

We ought to state that the party's role of a guiding political force is causing the growth and improvement of the state's role in fulfilling its prerogatives. At the same time, the tasks and responsibilities that go to the party in the current stage can be fulfilled not within a relationship of subordination but only under the conditions of relations of cooperation and perfect functioning between all party and state bodies. Hence the necessity of

collaboration and unitary action by the party bodies, the state bodies, the public bodies and the bodies for worker self-management.

Ovidiu Trasnea: The fact that the state fulfills its functions within a complex political system puts the problems of its relationships with the other components of the political system in the forefront of attention not only for the present but also for its future development. The combining of the activity of these specific organisms of our political system in such a way as to secure the improvement of the socialist social edifice, the blending of them in the process of exercising and achieving power, as in the process of administering society, represents the essential coordinate on which the more and more organic integration of the state into society, its future transformation into self-government by the people, is being developed; in other words, this combining is essential for the foreshadowing of the future of the state in our socialist society.

The specifications made by our party's secretary general regarding the dialectical relationships between the party and the state are of particular theoretical and practical significance, bearing in mind that the activity of the party and that of the state are blended with each other but, at the same time, are also combined with the activity of the public organizations and the bodies for worker self-management. The remark that no one can take the state's place in its prerogatives has in mind, naturally, on a general plane, the fact that in a complex political system such as ours there is instituted a natural division of the tasks or functions that combine to improve the performance of the system as a whole. But it also has a social repercussion, taking into account what the socialist state represents.

It is, on the one hand, the repository of the political power of the people, the embodiment of their sovereignty, not only the "official" representative (as Engels called the state in general) but also the real representative of society, of "society's power," which confers on it a wholly special place and causes it to not be able to be replaced by any other political entity. But the state is, at the same time, the administrator of all national wealth and it cannot be replaced in this hypostasis either; on the contrary, its task is to be an efficient administrator of the people's wealth. Consequently, the accents are different to a degree, as it is a question of the state's role as a political power of the people or as a general administrator of the property of the whole populace.

Ion Papaianopol: Indeed, the party does not replace the state, does not diminish its functions, but, on the contrary, has the mission of securing the proper exercise of its role, the role of the democratic bodies for managing society, the improvement of their activity and functioning in the best way through the harmonious blending of party, state and social activity; the party exercises, from within all links of the economic and social organism, a political and ideological influence that polarizes into a single stream the actions of all the components of the system of our socialist democracy, the energies of all the working people, regardless of nationality.

Uncovering the dialectical relationship between the party's leading role and the socialist state's role in the current stage, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stated in the report to the national party conference in December 1982 that "the strengthening of the party's role of a guiding political force in all sectors of activity must not lead at any time to the reduction of the socialist state's role as a unitary body for managing the activity of the people in the construction of socialism and communism. The party's role of a guiding political force requires continual action to increase the responsibility of the democratic bodies for managing society. To the party goes the mission of continually acting to improve and expand the role of the state, of all the democratic bodies in all sectors of activity."

The party--on the basis of thoroughly knowing the national and international realities and understanding the new trends that appear in the political life of society--is the one that uncovers the objective requirements of social development, identifies the contradictions and acts to eliminate them, politically orients the activity of all the forces in society toward the attainment of the proposed objectives. In its turn, the state of working-class, revolutionary democracy has the task of providing the unitary, planned organization and management of all economic and social activity, of all sectors of activity, of providing the equilibrium in the harmonious development of society, the full agreement between the production forces and relations, in direct relation to the orientations established by the party.

Defined by the party's secretary general as the supreme representative of the owners and producers, the organizer of the common life of the whole populace, of the whole nation, our state fulfills the role of a basic instrument for building the multilaterally developed socialist society and advancing Romania toward communism. On the basis of its prerogatives, the socialist state prepares laws and other regulatory acts through which it regulates as a unit the economic and social organization and operation in the direction of carrying out the programs established by the party. As the supreme representative of the people, the state of working-class, revolutionary democracy has the inalienable right to devise the forms and methods through which the political measures established by the party are to be carried out.

The dialectical unity between the leadership of society by the party and the growth of the role of our socialist state derives, at the same time, from the requirements for applying the new principles promoted by the party in all social life, from the qualitative improvements made in the democratic forms of participation by the masses in the management of society. In this regard, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out that "we must start from the fact that socialism is the work of the masses of people, that it is accomplished with the people and for the people, that socialist democracy constitutes an objective necessity for the conscious affirmation of the masses of people in the management of all sectors of activity. We must demonstrate in practice the superiority of socialist democracy, of the direct participation of the masses in the management of society, to any form of bourgeois democracy."

Ioan Vida: The dialectics of the relationship between the Communist Party and the socialist state subsumes, in my opinion, the dynamics of the interactions

between the two basic structures for the management of society, making evident the party's capacity to initiate and establish the general political line of social development, giving expression to the essential interests of the nation, to organize its implementation, including through the integration of state power into this process, securing the placement of state activity on the foundation of the working people's interests, of working-class, revolutionary democracy. As Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stated, in the prospect of the development of our society "we will witness a closer and closer blending of the activity of the party, of the state and of the other social organisms, this being a lawlike process of socialist and communist development."

In the process of socialist and communist construction, the Communist Party acts in its capacity of a government party, of a guiding political force, to improve state activity, the structures and functionality of the system of state bodies, to increase the state's capacity and role of a factor called upon to provide the unitary, planned management of all economic and social activity, social order and discipline, the respecting of the law by all members of society, including by party members.

The involvement of the socialist state and the Communist Party in the management of the economic and social processes, in the securing of the development of the socialist society is achieved within the framework of an interconditioning of party activity with state activity, on whose functionality there depend, in the final analysis, the quality of the act of social and political leadership, its efficiency on the plane of economic and social relations, the making of changes in the very quality of life, in the providing of the conditions needed for fulfilling the human personality.

The Romanian Communist Party fulfills its role of a guiding political force in the state and in society by virtue of historical legitimation, gained in the struggle for the revolutionary transformation of society in accordance with the Romanian people's aspirations of social and national justice; it is--as has been said here--our socialist nation's vital center, which reflects and expresses the realities of social life and projects into the system of socialist democracy innovative initiatives and ideas, catalyzes all of the political forces in the struggle to overcome the social contradictions, to raise to new heights the process of economic and social development and of creation of the communist civilization. By virtue of its historical mission, the Romanian Communist Party sets the strategy for constructing the socialist and communist order, the directions of the political action of revolutionary transformation of society that the bodies of the socialist state, the other political forces of society, all citizens of the country must follow so that the basic interests of the working people may be affirmed fully in all fields of social life.

This does not mean, of course, that the state and its bodies are transformed into a mechanical follower of the Communist Party or that the party takes the place of the state bodies. The party, together with the other social and political forces, with the democratic bodies of our society, constitutes the factor through which the aspirations of all the social classes and categories are transformed into state decisions. The state activity, coming immediately after the political decision, through the proper functions and procedures,

adopts the legal solutions and the state means through which the political objectives are attained.

In characterizing the relationship between the Communist Party and the state of working-class, revolutionary democracy, I consider it necessary for us to also specify the fact that the exercise of the leading role of the party, in the current stage of development of our country, does not amount to mere ideological guidance, that the party--by virtue of its leading role--is involved, through all its forces, in the attainment of the objectives established, continually seeing that the bodies of the socialist state and the other democratic bodies of our society act steadily to implement the political line established, to obtain the results anticipated on an economic and social plane, thus satisfying the material and spiritual needs of the working people.

The exercise of continual control over the state apparatus by the working people, under the leadership of the party bodies and organizations, and the full manifestation of the party's leading role in state activity are also necessitated, in my opinion, by virtue of a certain tendency of immobilism in some state bodies, often marked by a bureaucratic, redtape spirit, opposed to rapid adaptation to the requirements and realities of economic and social life. The imparting of continual vitality to state activity and the elimination of possible tendencies to isolate state bodies from the real needs of social management are organically connected with the growth of the party's leading role, with its direct involvement in the management of economic and social activity on all levels.

Aurelian Cosmatchi: In my opinion, the state and the party bear in each stage of social development the imprint of its traits and features, take on forms of organization and action specific to the respective stage and fulfill those functions that provide optimally for the regulation and self-regulation of the social mechanism.

I would say that the political field fulfills an very important role in the life of society; it has a regulatory role, one of organization, management, and provision of the functionality, equilibrium and continual development of the respective social order. Being determined in a complex way--directly and immediately--by the economic base of society at a given historical moment, the political field exercises, in its turn, a direct influence on all other fields of social life, adopts decisions that guide their functionality and evolution.

The political system of our socialist society represents the specific method of affirmation of the political relations and is determined, in each period of historical development, by the overall socialist social system, by the stages of its development and by the historical and national factors. The Romanian Communist Party and the state of working-class, revolutionary democracy occupy the central place in this original democratic political system. The problems of the two political institutions cannot be approached outside the general context of the political system, of socialist democracy; at the same time, the method of organization of the state and the party is noted as an element characteristic of the general nature and functioning of the system of socialist democracy, of the socialist political system.

The fulfillment by the Romanian Communist Party of the leading role, of the role of a vital center of the whole society, its political function, exercised through a multitude of forms and methods, constitutes one of the basic components of our social life. The whole process of constructing socialism in our country has been and is being carried out under the leadership of our party and its secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, under the conditions of continual improvement in the style and methods of managing society, of growth in its political, organizational and ideological role.

Not by chance, the problems of state construction, of improvement in it--a system of institutions, territorial-administrative organization, legislation, functions--and those regarding the evolution of the party, of its role in social life, occupy a central place in the entire theoretical work of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu. This is an important theoretical and political step of creative thought, which has been shaped and substantiated gradually, in the years after the ninth congress, on the basis of the synthesization of the Romanian experience, approaching the problems of the state and the party in a close relationship of interconditioning and of continual mobility.

Referring to the great tasks that face the state and its bodies, I would like to stress, like the other participants in this discussion, the particular significance of the political leadership of our society by the Romanian Communist Party. Closely tied to the working class, to the peasantry, to the intelligentsia, to all the working people, regardless of nationality, our party is successfully fulfilling its high mission of constituting the organizing and dynamizing political force of all economic and social activity.

The great successes obtained in forging the multilaterally developed socialist society and the splendid prospects of raising Romania, in the next decade and a half, to higher and higher levels of progress and prosperity demonstrate strongly the correctness of our party's policy, the creative way in which the Romanian Communist Party and its secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, are applying the general principles and truths of scientific socialism to the concrete conditions in Romania.

The fulfillment of its historical mission--throughout the period of construction of the multilaterally developed socialist society and of communism in Romania--requires the further strengthening of the party, the raising of the ideological and political level of all its members, the continual growth of its organizational force, of its unity. In accordance with the historical stages of development of the Romanian socialist and communist society, the party's very functions, role and forms of organization will, of course, undergo changes. Like any social organism, the party, too, in order to effectively fulfill its mission in society, must be improved in step with the great revolutionary transformations.

The new, qualitatively higher stage in the development of our society, which the 13th party congress will foreshadow, requires both the further improvement of party and state activity and the intensification of the political educational work of increasing the civic responsibility of the citizens within the framework of the unitary system of socialist democracy. As was pointed out at



the plenum of the National Council of Working People in May of this year, at present, the improvement of the activity of organizing labor, the strengthening of order and discipline, of the spirit of responsibility in all sectors of activity, constitutes one of the crucial problems of the improvement of economic and social activity. The attainment of this objective presupposes the strengthening of the party's leading role through the improvement of the activity of the party bodies and organizations, the growth of each communist's responsibility for implementing the party's political line, the continual strengthening of its ties with the masses. At the same, the improvement of the state activity in all its links, the growth of the responsibility of the state bodies for the proper administration and better utilization of national wealth, the attainment of the objectives of self-administration and worker self-leadership are necessary.

Vasile Nichita: As historical experience shows, the growth of the socialist state's role in the management of social, political and economic life and the improvement of socialist, working-class, revolutionary democracy are not attained by themselves but constitute the result of a long, complex process, initiated and conducted consciously by the party and found in a close interdependence and interconditioning with the general development of the new order, with the level of consciousness, political culture, and competence of the masses, with the experience and quality of the democratic institutions and practices. In the development of this process, the systematic struggle against any elements of formalism and bureaucratism and for the implantation of legality, order and discipline, of the revolutionary spirit and style of working in all fields, takes on a particular significance.

The securing of the optimum functionality of our working-class, revolutionary democracy is, of course, closely connected with the continual concern of all party bodies and organizations and the party members for raising the level of training, competence, political consciousness, and responsibility of all the working people. In the view of our party and its secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, the continual improvement of socialist democracy in accordance with the requirements for the advance of society, with the principles of revolutionary humanism, represents a permanent, objective necessity of socialist and communist construction.

Ovidiu Trasnea: It can be judged, on the whole, that the remarks made during this discussion have not neglected any main aspect of the theory of the state, of the exercise of political power. Although all the theoretical conclusions have not been exhausted by any means--nor could we intend such an objective--from the discussion there has been formed, I believe, a clear perspective regarding the formation and evolution of our socialist state up to the current stage of a state of working-class, revolutionary democracy, regarding its functions and its role in society, in the general development of Romania, in the current stage and in the future.

As is pointed out in the draft directives of the 13th Congress of the Romanian Communist Party, in the years of socialist construction "a vast process of improvement in the production relations, of expansion of working-class, revolutionary democracy, has occurred, with a broad organizational framework being



provided for the direct participation of the whole populace in building the new order." The 13th Congress of the Romanian Communist Party will mark a new stage in the evolution of our state, will open up new and bright prospects for the general progress of the multilaterally developed socialist society. Within them, the improvement of the functions of the political system, of the state, and the expansion of worker self-management will undergo new value accumulations, meant to raise to new levels the democracy forged in our country.

Of course, in going deeply into these problems, it is further necessary for us to dwell more on the analysis of the essence of our socialist state in the current stage, in order to explain and outline more clearly the methods of exercising political power, the effects of the interpenetration between the state and the mass and public organizations on a political, social and economic plane.

Although in political science, in the theory of the state, viewpoints and opinions, already consolidated, referring to the socialist state's role, to the methods of performing the state's functions, have been accumulated, the social practice and the experience of our country can offer to theory new "courses" of research, new landmarks. We find in this "competition," always more complex and attractive from the viewpoint of inducing reflection and meditation, a stimulus for improving the concepts and categories that we often use in the analysis of the state phenomenon as well as other social and political phenomena.

From this viewpoint, we are benefiting from profoundly scientific theoretical, methodological, analytic instruments. I am referring particularly to our party's program and to Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's speeches and addresses. The creative activity of the party's secretary general in the realm of social and political theoretical thought and revolutionary practice, the depth of the ideas, the clarity of the solutions that he recommends represent a prestigious contribution to the synthesization of the experience of socialist construction in Romania, to the enrichment of the treasury of contemporary revolutionary theory and practice.

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ROMANIA

# DIALECTICS BETWEEN PRODUCTION FORCES, PRODUCTION AND SOCIAL RELATIONS

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[Article by Univ Lect Dr Marin Babeanu, Univ Prof Dr Constantin Barbacioru, Dr Ion Caracalcanu, Univ Lect Ion Dragoste, Univ Asst Ion Gifu, Dr Elena Lolescu, Univ Lect Dr Elena Marin, Univ Prof Dr Tiberiu Nicola, Dr Gheorghe Parvu, Univ Lect Aurel Piturca, Univ Lect Iulia Preda, Univ Lect Miron Radu, Univ Asst Ion Sfirlogea, Univ Lect Dr Mihai Simion, Univ Asst Nicolae Serban, Dr Victor Stefan, Dr Alexandru Toba, Dr Elisabeta Traistaru, Univ Prof Dr Ion Traistaru and Dr Emanoil Utescu: "The Dialectics of the Development of the Production Forces and Production and Social Relations in the Current Stage of Romanian Society"]

[Text] The achievements of historic importance that our people have obtained, under the leadership of the Communist Party, in building the new social order, especially in the period inaugurated by the ninth congress, are indissolubly connected with the innovative, bold thought of the party's secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, based on multilaterally studying the laws of social development and creatively applying them to the concrete conditions specific to our country. In these years, the production forces and production and social relations have undergone continual development and improvement and the participation of the working people in the management of economic and social life, of the whole society, has risen greatly. Noting the significance of these decisive factors for social progress, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu said: "The history of mankind, thus the history of the Romanian people too, is the history of the development of the production forces and social relations, the history of class struggles, of struggles against foreign oppression and domination, for national liberation and independent development, the history of continual conflict between the old and the new."

In the current stage through which our country is going, the speedup of the progress of the production forces and relations and the continual improvement of them have a more and more important role in the further strong development of the

technical-material base, they being meant to secure the implementation, on the whole, of the party's program for forging the multilaterally developed socialist society and the creation of the conditions needed for the transition, in the next period, to the achievement of the higher phase of the socialist society, to the construction of communism in Romania. To this end, according to the provisions of the draft directives of the 13th party congress, the improvement and modernization of the country's production forces, the even stronger accentuation of the qualitative aspects of the activity in all fields of economic and social life, the balanced development of all branches of the national economy, the harmonious territorial placement of the production forces, and the further improvement of the production and social relations, of the whole activity of management and organization of social life, will lie--as basic orientations--in the center of the plan for economic and social development in the 1986-1990 5-year period and of the main directions of Romania's development up to the year 2000.

Starting from these considerations, the editorial staff of the magazine ERA SOCIALISTA, together with the Dolj County Party Committee, organized in the municipality of Craiova a discussion in which participated: Univ Lect Dr Marin Babeanu, Univ Prof Dr Constantin Barbacioru, Dr Ion Caracaleanu, Univ Lect Ion Dragoste, Univ Asst Ion Gifu, Dr Elena Lolescu, Univ Lect Dr Elena Marin, Univ Prof Dr Tiberiu Nicola, Dr Gheorghe Parvu, Univ Lect Aurel Piturca, Univ Lect Iulia Preda, Univ Lect Miron Radu, Univ Asst Ion Sfirlogea, Univ Lect Dr Mihai Simion, Univ Asst Nicolae Serban, Dr Victor Stefan, Dr Alexandru Toba, Dr Elisabeta Traistaru, Univ Prof Dr Ion Traistaru and Dr Emanoil Utescu.

We publish the abridged shorthand record of the discussion.

#### Implications of an Organic, Dialectical Correlation

Elisabeta Traistaru: The role of the production forces, the most dynamic factor in society's development, is conceived by the Romanian Communist Party and Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu in close connection with solving the concrete problems raised by the complex process of building socialism in our country. After the ninth congress, the party went beyond the abstract understanding of the relationship between the production forces and relations, the fatalistic view of the lagging of the production relations behind the level and character of the production forces. In our party's view, the forging of the multilaterally developed socialist society and the advancement of Romania toward communism constitute a continual revolutionary process that causes qualitative changes in the whole life of society, both within the production forces and relations, in society's organizational and management structures, and in social consciousness, in the formation and development of the new man, an active participant in the management of economic and social life.

The profoundly revolutionary character of the work of building the multilaterally developed socialist society is determined, in my opinion, by the content of the complex problems of economic and social evolution in this stage, by the nature of the quantitative but, in particular, qualitative transformations that are occurring in all fields of social life. In the course of this process, certain contradictions the overcoming of which requires the continual development and modernization of the production forces and the continual improvement of the production and social relations can appear--and even do appear. Contradictions can thus appear between the new content of the production and social relations, the new quality of some aspects of them, on the one hand, and some lagging aspects of them that impede or can impede progress, on the other hand. Under these circumstances, there must be political, organizational, economic and social measures meant to eliminate the old phenomena and to create the framework needed for developing the qualitatively new, superior aspects of the production relations, which, in their entirety, would correspond as well as possible to the character of the production forces and would permit their further strong development, in accordance with the strategic tasks and objectives set by the party.

To this end, on the initiative of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, the 12th congress and the national conference of the party drew up, as is known, special programs regarding the faster development of the base of energy and raw materials, the reduction of the consumption of materials, energy and fuel, the restructuring and modernization of industry, through the priority growth of the peak branches, the intensive development of agriculture and the better use of land resources, in order to achieve a new agrarian revolution, the growth of the role of scientific research and education, the steady promotion of technical progress, the more marked growth of labor productivity and economic efficiency, the raising of the technical level and the quality of products, the consistent continuation of the policy of rational, balanced placement of the production forces on a territorial basis, and so on. The implementation of these programs and measures is of a nature to provide as full an agreement as possible between the production forces and production relations and the continual and multilateral progress of our society on the whole.

A new, qualitatively higher stage in the development of Romanian society will be marked by the attainment of the inspiring objectives contained in the draft directives of the 13th party congress, which provide, as basic orientations, the following: the improvement and modernization of the production forces, the intensive development of industry, the accentuation of the specialization and integration of production, the continual raising of the technical and qualitative level of products, the stronger growth of labor productivity, the strict economization and better utilization of raw materials, fuel and energy, the reduction of production costs and material expenditures, and the substantial growth of economic efficiency in all sectors of activity. An optimum proportion between industry and agriculture and the harmonious and balanced development of all branches of the national economy will be provided. In agriculture, special attention will be devoted to improving the soil and raising the fertility of the land by carrying out a vast program of irrigation, chemicalization and complete mechanization of the work, thus creating conditions for agriculture to fully meet the national economy's need for agricultural raw

materials and the population's consumption requirements and to provide, at the same time, some reserves for exportation.

In the 1986-1990 5-year period, the industrial commodity output and the agricultural commodity output will rise by 34-37 percent and 30-33 percent, respectively, in comparison with the level in 1985. Scientific research will be intensified, the promotion of technical progress will be accelerated and its contribution to modernizing the economy and to raising economic efficiency will increase. The implementation of the policy of rational territorial placement of the production forces and of economic and social development of all counties of the country will continue.

The prospect of the further strong development of the production forces also requires, of course, the adoption of measures for systematic improvement in socialist production relations. As the draft directives of the 13th party congress provide, new measures are in view for improving the forms and methods of organization, management and planning, for more and more firmly basing all economic and social activity on the principles of self-management and self-administration, for bringing the system of organization and management into accord with the stage attained in the development of the production forces and with the requirements of the current and future stage.

In approaching the dialectical relationship between the production forces and production and social relations, I believe that it is necessary for us to dwell on such problems as: the mechanism for achieving the agreement between the production relations and forces under the conditions of the multilaterally developed socialist society and their concrete-historical and dynamic character; the contradictions in economic and social life and the methods promoted by our party for overcoming them and achieving a new equilibrium in the national economy; the role of scientific and technical progress and of improvement in the training of the work force in the modernization of the economy and in the dynamics of the country's social structure; the process of improving the management, organization and planning of the national economy, socialist ownership and the principles of distribution; the basing of the management of all economic and social life on the principles of self-management and self-administration and the further development of working-class, revolutionary democracy; the implications of the objective and subjective, material and spiritual factors for the correlation between the production forces and relations under socialism in the current stage of building the new order in our country; the restructurings in the national economy, including in the development of the production forces on a territorial basis, as they are foreshadowed in the draft directives of the 13th party congress.

Mihai Simion: As regards the correlation between the production forces and relations, I do not know but what it may be necessary, perhaps, for us to subject it to a more thorough analysis, redefining it and clarifying, among other things, the relationship between the objective and the subjective. Why, in this correlation, does the objective element have valences of its own? What do the objective and the subjective mean in social life, in the present case, from the viewpoint of the production forces and relations? In my opinion, in a certain sense, there cannot be a clear-cut, absolute boundary between the

production forces and relations, since the human individual, that is, the subjective element, is involved in each of these two aspects of the mode of production. In addition, as is known, the work force represents the most important component of the production forces. On the other hand, production relations consist of all of the relations that are established between the bearers of the work force. As a result, man is strongly involved in both aspects of the mode of production. If that is how matters stand, then the understanding of the contradictions between the production forces and relations acquires, in my opinion, a quite different appearance from that in some simplistic views that still make themselves felt sometimes in the approach to this problem. If we therefore take into account the central element of the mode of production, that is, man, it is easy to understand that the problem of the contradictions between the production forces and relations can be approached in other terms. The rethinking of the dialectical relationship between the production forces and production and social relations by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu under our country's conditions offers wide possibilities of approaching these important fields of social life in a new, creative spirit.

Ion Gifu: Defined as a unity between the production forces and relations, the mode of production manifests the close interpenetration between these two aspects of it, the decisive participation of man both in the development of technology, of the production forces on the whole, and in the improvement of the production and social relations. In fact, man is involved to the highest degree--as has been said--in all aspects of the mode of production. At the same time, I feel that under our era's conditions other propulsive factors of the mode of production are also asserting themselves more and more strongly. Thus, it is known that, in the main, science and technology now have a decisive role in the development of the production forces, while the improvement of production relations is determined particularly by people. This is therefore, in my opinion, a cause that can lead to a certain lack of synchronization between the production forces and relations. The production relations do not automatically, mechanically relate to the production forces. This dialectical relationship also depends on the involvement of the factors of a superstructural nature, of the political factors. In addition, I believe that factors of a legal nature, the system of laws, and the degree of improvement in the pay system are also involved in regulating the relationship between the production forces and relations.

Constantin Barbacioru: Undoubtedly, the relationship between the production forces and relations is influenced by very many factors. But I believe that the work force remains the primary element; it determines, in the final analysis, the capacity of the production forces and production relations to stimulate general progress. Consequently, if it is a question of our providing the synchronization between the production relations and forces, then I feel that it is necessary to "act" on man, whom we find both in the sphere of production forces and in the sphere of production and social relations. Moreover, the country's entire progress depends on the knowledge that those who work in various branches of the national economy possess. Therefore, the special attention that our party and state are devoting to continually improving the training of the work force has the mission of also helping to provide the agreement between the production relations and forces.

The effort that is made in the current stage and in the future in the field of education and of improvement in the training of personnel must also be understood in this context. The draft directives of the 13th RCP Congress, starting from the tasks referring to the further strong development of the production forces and the technical-material base, establish a set of measures meant to meet the need for personnel for the 1986-1990 5-year period, which requires the training of nearly 2 million persons. Thus, in the next 5-year period, over 1.2 million skilled workers, technicians and foremen and 146,000 engineers and other specialized personnel with higher education will be trained, particularly for the basic branches--machine building, metallurgy and the mining, petroleum, chemical and construction-materials industries. In this period, a special accent will be put on providing skilled personnel for agriculture, in view of the greater tasks that face this basic branch of our national economy. To this end, the training of 590,000 skilled persons for agriculture will be provided in the 1986-1990 5-year period.

The improvement of the production and social relations, as a result of strongly developing the production forces, requires the raising of the level of professional and political training of the whole population. The fulfillment of this basic task of our country's economic and social development in the 1986-1990 5-year period requires the improvement of the system of training and improving the training of personnel. Education will be developed further on the basis of polytechnic education and close integration with production and research. Some improvements will be made regarding the inclusion of graduates of the first stage of secondary school in the second stage and in vocational schools. In its turn, higher education will be improved in accordance with the needs of the national economy and the requirements of the newest gains of science, technology and culture. In addition, the programs for improvement in professional training will contain about 3 million persons per year.

Through all these measures, better professional competence will be provided, along with the more and more active and effective participation of all working people in solving the complex problems of the country's economic and social development and with the continual development of the system of working-class, revolutionary democracy under the conditions of the consistent application of the principles of worker self-management and economic and financial self-administration and the other principles of the new economic and financial mechanism also pointed out in the draft directives of the 13th congress. Consequently, the providing of a dynamic agreement of the production relations with the level of development of the production forces necessarily requires the implementation of a broad program for training and improving the professional training of the working people, the enrichment of the stock of knowledge and the raising of the degree of participation of those who work in the activity of management at a micro- and macrosocial level.

Ion Dragoste: Of course, man is the connecting element between the two aspects of the mode of production. On the other hand, the unity of the production forces and relations does not mean their identity. I believe instead that it is a question of the fact that man is in a dual hypostasis, because if he were one and the same in both cases, unity would be equivalent to identity. We can thus speak, independently, of the production forces and of man's



position within them, just as we can speak, also independently, of the production relations and of man's position and function within them.

Ion Traistaru: It is known that dialectical and historical materialism defines the mode of production as embodying the multilateral interaction and the unity between the production forces and relations. In this interaction, the production forces have the decisive role, and the production relations are determined by the level and character of the production forces, which constitute, in their turn, the economic and social framework for developing the production forces. In my opinion, these theses are also applicable to the socialist economy.

The interaction between the production forces and relations under socialism was presented simplistically in the past, it being reduced either to the thesis of the inevitable lagging of the production relations behind the level and character of the production forces or the thesis of the automatic achievement, through the socialist revolution, of the full agreement between the production relations and the level and character of the production forces. The scientific analyses in the last two decades--begun under the creative stimulus given to the social sciences by the party's secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, against the background of the dialectical approach to all economic and social development--have also made possible a number of remarkable advances with regard to interpreting the nature of and ways to achieve the agreement between the production relations and forces under socialism.

Of course, production relations do not exist in general, but only as relations between people; they have as an object the securing of the operation of the production forces, just as means of production do not exist in general, but only as concrete elements of the labor process, put in operation through the live labor of the people, together with which they form the production forces. One and the same human activity in the reproduction process represents, simultaneously, the necessary framework for the operation and development of the production forces but also the decisive factor of this framework, imparting to the production relations a content and structure corresponding to the production forces.

The optimum functioning of production is provided only when the character of the production relations coincides with the character of the production forces. The meeting of this condition stimulates economic progress, the development of social production. And, on the contrary, any discrepancy, any disagreement between the character of the production relations and that of the production forces affects the production process, leading to the impairment of its functioning with intensities going from insignificant and transitory disruptions of short duration to lengthy disturbances, to serious contradictions and stresses that can sometimes manifest themselves, under certain conditions, as historical experience shows, even under socialism. In connection with these aspects, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu has repeatedly drawn attention to the necessity of approaching the problems of social life as they appear in reality, of discovering and analyzing in time the various contradictions in society and of adopting suitable measures for resolving and overcoming them. The course of socialist construction in Romania, especially in the last two

decades, shows our party's capacity to provide for the scientific management of society, its continual improvement, the knowing and efficient, prompt resolution of the contradictions.

Marin Babeanu: I feel that when we approach the dialectics of the relationship between the production forces and relations, we cannot omit their historical character. Dwelling on just one aspect of this relationship, I would like to note that the evolution of the production forces in time, particularly evident in the continual development of the work force, of the means and objects of labor, of the social production process under the stimulus of the growth of the social need, constitutes a chief significance of the concrete-historical character of the production forces. Through the long and interdependent accumulations within the material and subjective components of the production forces and through the leaps of a qualitative nature that all of the production forces make periodically--either within the same mode of production, which is being consolidated, or in the process of shifting from one mode of production to another--a new era of social development is inaugurated.

From this perspective, knowledge of the historical character of the production forces is of particular importance for revolutionary theory and practice: it permits a scientific explanation of the social causes and mechanisms that have determined the succession of the modes of production and of the social and economic formations; it demonstrates the fundamental role of the production forces in the affirmation of social progress in all historical eras; it brings out the decisive role of the working people, of the forgers of material and spiritual assets, in historical creation; it expresses synthetically--from the angle of labor productivity--the level of the development of all social production and demonstrates that, on the scale of the historical development of human society, any mode of production, in order to be viable, must create a higher social labor productivity than the mode of production that it replaces; it attests that the transition to socialism--which, along with other revolutionary processes, such as the crisis of the capitalist system, the collapse of the colonial system of imperialism, the world scientific and technical revolution, and so on, defines the content of the current era--constitutes the direction of contemporary social progress.

The concrete-historical character of the production forces in the contemporary era is also brought out by their great spatial variety, by the national specific character with regard to the level and interactions of their components and by the tendency toward generalization of the advanced production forces. The production forces existing in the contemporary world economy are very heterogeneous; they have extremely different levels of development, which manifest themselves in economic gaps between the areas of the globe and between the states in the same area. The technical and branch structures of the national economies in our era are revealing in this regard. From a technological viewpoint, they exhibit, in my opinion, three distinct groups of states: with a low technological level, with a technological level undergoing modernization and with an advanced technological level, and according to the percentage of the main branches in national production, they exhibit five groups: with an agrarian economy, an agrarian-industrial economy, an industrial-agrarian economy, an industrial economy and an industrial and service economy. The

interaction of the technical and branch structures of the national economies, from which the stage of development of the production forces in each country results, is also revealing. From this perspective, we can distinguish nowadays underdeveloped countries, developing countries, countries with average development, developed countries and, I would say, "superdeveloped" countries.

The modernization of the production forces, the restructuring of the components of the production forces that manifest themselves strikingly in certain eras of economic progress, constitutes an important aspect of the concrete-historical character of the production forces. The restructuring done in the production forces in Romania in the last two decades is revealing in this regard, restructuring initiated by our party and its secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, which finds a new and higher expression in the draft directives of the 13th congress for the 1986-1990 5-year period and the long-term orientations up to the year 2000.

The creation of a strong national economic complex that has a high technological level and a modern structure is decisive for building the multilaterally developed socialist society. In the next decade and a half, industry--a decisive branch for the general progress of the production forces--will be combined more and more harmoniously with agriculture, which will continue to be developed intensively; an optimum proportion will be provided between industry and agriculture; all branches of the national economy will be developed in a harmonious and balanced way. By virtue of the requirements of the current historical stage of development of socialist Romania, the party is orienting with priority the economic activities toward the peak branches, subbranches and fields of production, which provide the wide promotion of scientific and technical progress, high vitality to the national economy, the better utilization of raw materials and energy, the creation of a strong base of raw materials and energy of our own, the forging of a harmonious territorial structure for the production forces, and the continual raising of the technical and qualitative level of products.

#### The Concrete-Historical and Dynamic Character of the Relationship Between the Production Forces and Relations

Ion Traistaru: Indeed, as was said earlier, the concrete-historical approach to the production forces is of particular importance, indicating major aspects for the very dialectics of their relationship with the production relations, which, naturally, also have a concrete-historical character. As is known, the level of the production forces does not determine or influence the production relations directly but only through the changes that occur in the character of the production forces. This is causing, for instance, now, as, in fact, in the past too, countries with the same level of development of the production forces to have different economic and social orders. At the same time, the relatively low level of the production forces in some socialist countries in comparison with the level of the production forces in the developed capitalist countries does not belie at all the advanced, qualitatively superior character of socialist production relations, of the new social and economic order.

On the other hand, also viewing things in a concrete-historical way, one can observe that the higher level of the production forces in a number of Western

countries does not cause by itself, automatically, the elimination of capitalist production relations and the creation of socialist production relations in their place, even under the conditions in which the more and more marked social character of the production forces always clashes more with the character of the production relations based on exploitation and oppression. As long as the bourgeoisie, as a ruling class, still manages to maintain the mechanism that provides the functioning of the economy, a certain growth of the production forces still occurs, despite the many antagonistic contradictions that manifest themselves on an economic, social and political plane, taking the form of crises of long duration or even with a permanent character.

Ion Gifu: I feel that precisely the concrete-historical approach to the relationship between the production forces and relations allows us to go beyond the older conception according to which socialist production relations, once established, permanently generate a full agreement between the two aspects of the mode of production. In fact, such a thesis conflicts with Marx's conception according to which progress is not of a linear nature and the agreement is not provided spontaneously, by itself. Reality shows--as our party points out--that under socialism too there can appear a certain lack of synchronization between various aspects of social life, certain contradictions between the production forces and relations, which, however, can be overcome through the involvement of the subjective factor, thus securing the continual, multi-lateral progress of the new society.

Ion Dragoste: If we were to accept the thesis that the new production relations open up the way for development of the production forces without any contradictions, we would reach the erroneous conclusion that, in fact, under socialism, there would no longer be possibilities of progress, of improvement, because, it is known, contradiction is the basis for any development. There is thus an internal dialectics of the development of the production forces and relations under socialism too. With good reason, we are dwelling on the decisive role of the production forces in development, but this does not mean that we thus deny the influence of the production and social relations on the production forces. Such an influence has extremely great implications in the socialist society; it reveals the very important role of the subjective factor, of the action of the staffs of working people for promoting scientific and technical progress, for developing and improving the means of production, for using consciously and improving the production relations.

Ion Traistaru: I feel that the disagreement between the character of the production relations and the character of the production forces, possible even under socialism, does not appear spontaneously, automatically, by itself, but due to objective and subjective causes. The problem that is raised is that of knowing these causes, of studying and overcoming the dysfunctionalities, thus providing on new bases, under new conditions, the necessary agreement between the production forces and relations. Conscious regulation of the relationship between the production forces and relations is of a nature to prevent a disagreement between them over a long period. Under socialism, the conscious character of economic and social development, the regulation of the operating mechanism of social production on the basis of a plan, creates conditions for providing the agreement between the character of the production forces and

that of the production relations. However, this agreement constantly entails transformations and improvements that must be made simultaneously in the content and structure of the production and social relations. In precisely such a framework, I regard as very important the provision in the draft directives of the 13th RCP Congress according to which in the next period "there will be provided--along with the strong development of the production forces--the continual improvement of social relations, the growth of the degree of material and spiritual civilization of the life of the whole populace, the raising of the homeland to higher and higher peaks of progress and civilization."

Under the conditions in which the character of the production relations corresponds to the character of the production forces, with the agreement between them being provided and regulated consciously in the socialist economic mechanism, the new production relations represent the optimum social framework for the development of the production forces, of social production. They thus act as a factor with an extremely positive role in developing the economy, in raising the level of the production forces, in enriching their content and changing their structure, in accordance with the general requirements for economic and social progress in each stage.

The level attained at a given time by the production forces is determined, on the one hand, by their earlier level and, on the other hand, by society's capacity to develop with its own means social production, the production forces themselves in the given historical stage. The production relations existing at a given time in society cannot be made "responsible" for the general level of the production forces at the respective time; this is especially so when it is a question of socialist production relations in countries that inherited production forces with a low level. On the contrary, socialist production relations have confirmed their role of a motive power of economic and social progress, with our country's experience constituting in this regard living proof of the superiority of socialism. These relations have provided and are providing the necessary social framework for obtaining high rates of development of the production forces and of our socialist economy, in general.

Starting from such a role, the party's secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, in the speech at the solemn session devoted to the passage of 40 years since the accomplishment of the revolutionary act on 23 August, pointed out that in the next period "an even stronger accentuation of the qualitative aspects of the activity in all fields of economic and social life and even stronger growth in labor productivity, especially through the intensification of the process of 'electronicization,' automation and robotization of all sectors of activity" are in view.

Of course, the active role of the production relations does not manifest itself automatically and identically in all socialist countries, it being achieved concretely, under the specific social, economic and political conditions in each country, as an expression of the capacity of the respective communist party and socialist state to provide, through their policy, both the most suitable orientations and the most suitable forms, methods and means of management, organization and planning for the national situation and features.

Emanoil Utescu: I feel that when we speak of the agreement between the production forces and relations under our socialist order's conditions, we cannot limit it just to a general analysis of the two basic aspects of the mode of production. In my opinion, it is much more extensive and complex, it also having to be judged in connection with the internal relationships that are established and condition one another within the component elements of each of the two aspects. In fact, this requirement is emphasized conspicuously in Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's speech at the solemn session devoted to the 40th anniversary of the revolution for social and national liberation in August 1944 and in the draft directives of the 13th party congress.

In these documents, the necessity of continually improving the production forces and relations is broadly substantiated, and at the same time, objectives and tasks of great significance are outlined with regard to the providing of the base of raw materials and the better utilization of them, the intensive development of industry, the continual raising of the technical and qualitative level of products, the substantial growth of the degree of skill of the work force, the improvement of the management and planning of the economic mechanism on all echelons, and so on. One clearly observes here the understanding of the dialectical relationship between the object of labor, the means of labor, the work force, and science, as a direct production force, and of that between production, distribution and consumption.

A general, simplistic analysis of the agreement between the production forces and relations on a theoretical plane could lead--as has also been said--to erroneous conclusions, with negative consequences for practical activity. It is thus necessary, in my opinion, for the problems of providing this agreement to be further researched in depth and for the resulting conclusions to help to speed up the multilateral, balanced development of the country, in conformity with the provisions of the draft directives of the 13th party congress.

Ion Traistaru: Naturally, the influence exercised by the evolution of the world economy, with which the Romanian economy is interdependent, is also being felt in some problems with which our economy is confronted in the current stage; at the same time, these problems and the manifestation of certain internal contradictions are, in a certain sense, the expression of the stage of development already attained, a stage in which the growth of the degree of complexity of the economy also entails the growth of the difficulties in solving the problems of speeding up economic and social progress. On the other hand, one should not omit either, I believe, the fact that, for example, the problems that now involve the providing of a high level of efficiency are also influenced by the underestimation of the role and importance of economic efficiency in the early period of building the socialist order in our society. Consequently, as the party's secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, pointed out, the overcoming of the contradictions appearing in the country's economic development requires the achievement of a new equilibrium in the development of industry, a decisive branch for the progress of the whole economy, at the basis of which there will be: the providing of the necessary energy from our own resources; the raising of economic efficiency and labor productivity; the optimum dimensioning, according to the requirements, of the branches producing raw materials; the achievement of a harmonious union



between the subbranches with relatively high energy consumptions and those with moderate and low consumptions; the relative reduction of the energy consumption per worker, per capita and per product in the branches with high energy consumptions; the stronger development of the branches and subbranches that provide advanced processing of raw materials; the strong development of agriculture and the other branches of the economy; and so on.

Nicolae Serban: Starting from studying the contradictions that are appearing in our economy with a view to resolving them, our party adopted, on the initiative of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, at the 12th congress and the national conference in 1982, a set of special programs regarding the restructuring and modernization of the branches of material production, especially the branches and subbranches of industry, depending on the present and future directions and requirements of the contemporary scientific and technical revolution, on the implications of the world crisis in energy and raw materials and on the long-term effects of the growth of the interdependences of the national economies. In this way, industry has been and is being oriented more and more firmly toward the highly technical branches and subbranches, which utilize better the resources of raw materials and social labor. In these programs, special attention is devoted to the renovation of products and of manufacturing techniques and technologies through the promotion of high-quality, competitive products and assortments and of technologies that lead to the reduction of the consumption of energy and raw materials.

The policy of restructuring and modernization promoted by our party also takes into account agriculture and the other branches of the national economy, seeking, in the latter, the achievement of a harmonious and dynamic equilibrium in the national economy on the whole, with consequences for optimizing the agreement between the production forces and relations.

Victor Stefan: In my contribution I will try to sketch a few considerations regarding the implications of scientific and technical progress for the relationship between the production forces and production relations in the current stage. The fact is known that the essence and directions of contemporary scientific and technical progress, of which the closer and closer blending of science with production constitutes a defining characteristic, are causing the transformation of science into a direct production force, the direct application of the results of scientific research in all spheres of production, in the directing of the economic processes. Judging the role and importance of contemporary scientific and technical progress, the draft directives of the 13th RCP Congress say: "The 1986-1990 5-year period will provide for our homeland's entry into a new, higher phase of its economic and social progress, marked strongly by the growth of the role of science and technology in all fields of activity." In the next period, the country's production forces will be characterized by intensive development, a high technological level and a modern structure, which will cause Romania to be depicted at the end of this century "as a multilaterally developed socialist country, both from a viewpoint of industry, agriculture, education, science and culture and from one of the people's general standard of living and civilization."

The multilateral promotion of contemporary scientific and technical progress entails qualitative changes in the content and spheres of the general process



of reproduction through changes in the character of labor and in the relations between the elements of the production forces, changes in the relations between man and nature, the expansion of the social division of labor, changes in the economy's structure according to branches, in the dimensions of the enterprises and of cooperation in production. In strict interdependence with these changes, it is necessary to improve further the content, structure and mechanism of socialist ownership, the system of organization and management, the operating mechanism of the economy, and interhuman relations.

Manifesting itself on many planes, scientific and technical progress finds its purpose in the full affirmation of the scientific and technical revolution as an essential anticipatory element of the conscious process of preparing for the communist transformations. As Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu judged, "science represents a factor of decisive significance for the successful achievement of socialism and communism in Romania, for economic and social development, for the securing of the people's well-being and happiness, of our socialist homeland's independence."

Tiberiu Nicola: Indeed, the strong development of the production forces, a process characteristic of the stage through which our national economy is going, would be, of course, impossible without the assimilation of modern, peak science and technology. For Romania, a socialist country that is concentrating its efforts on rising ever higher in the world hierarchy of economic development--development based on independence, freedom and social equity--the assimilation of contemporary science and technology at rapid rates represents an imperative, vital condition. This condition was formulated clearly in the programs and decisions adopted by the 12th congress and the national conference of the party and in the speeches of the RCP secretary general and is strongly underscored in the draft directives of the 13th party congress for the next 5-year period and in the orientations regarding the development of our national economy up to the year 2000.

The activity programs in the field of science and technology and the special programs regarding the more marked growth of labor productivity and the raising of the technical and qualitative level of products put in relief a set of theses and ideas of the greatest importance regarding the tasks and problems to which the scientific and technical revolution must give original theoretical and practical solutions and the necessity of organizing and utilizing science exclusively for the purpose of peace and social progress, as support for humanism, as an instrument for bringing nations closer together and for eliminating underdevelopment.

Certainly, as has also been noted in our discussion, by the transformation of science into a direct production force we mean the intervention and effects of scientific research in: the diversification and improvement of the means of production, of the operating indices and of the quality and utilization of products; the better utilization of raw materials and the creation of new raw materials; the as complete use as possible of traditional energy sources and the harnessing of new energy sources; the discovery of new materials that replace scarce, costly or depletable materials and the introduction of them into the economic circuit; the complex utilization of the traditional technologies

that are economically justified and the devising of new technologies; the continual improvement of the functioning and the substantial growth of the efficiency of the man-machine system; the improvement of the organization and planning of the production processes, going from the basic units to the level of the national economy; the continual optimization of production through the most favorable correlation of the technical, economic and social factors and of human relations.

Consistently promoting a firm policy regarding the essential role of science in our homeland's general economic and social progress in the 1986-1990 5-year period and up to the year 2000, the draft directives of the 13th RCP Congress emphasize the necessity of further increasing the contribution of scientific research to providing the base of raw materials, to providing the energy independence of the country, to developing agriculture on modern bases, to raising the technical and qualitative level of production, to improving the quality of life. Along with the intensification of applied research, the basic research in the fields of mathematics, physics, chemistry and biology will be expanded, with our own research providing the backlog of solutions for the future development of the economy and the whole society and actively participating in world scientific and technical creation.

An important role goes to research in the economic, social and political sciences. Economic research will have to devise solutions for the faster growth of economic efficiency, the further modernization of the structure of material production, the growth of labor productivity, the reduction of production costs and of the consumption of raw materials, fuel and energy, the intensive utilization of fixed assets, the raising of profitability, and so on. The problems of organizing, planning and managing the national economy, the application and improvement of the economic and financial mechanism, prices, valuta and financial problems, the purchasing power of the national currency and its convertibility will be thoroughly studied in economic scientific research.

To the social and political sciences goes the task of studying the objective laws of the forging of the multilaterally developed socialist society and the advancement of the homeland toward communism, they having to make to a greater degree their contribution to the improvement of the organization and management of society, of working-class, revolutionary democracy, to the synthetization and theoretical generalization of our country's experience in building the new order, to the thorough analysis of the problems of the contemporary world and so on.

But I believe that all these things must be understood in the sense that the transformation of science into a direct production force has consequences of the most important kind for man, as a principal production force, in general, for his existential, cognitive, moral, axiological condition and so on. And this is because the scientific and technical revolution is not taking place, as is known, only in the research laboratories, on the drawing boards of the designers or on the test stands of the engineers. It is taking place in all fields of human activity, has a sphere of action in each workplace, in industry, agriculture, education, health care, in all social activities.

Elena Iolescu: I want to refer to the rational territorial distribution of the production forces, regarded, with good reason, by our party as a not only economic but also political problem of the greatest importance. General social and national development and the multilateral progress of society can be achieved only with the unitary development of all areas and localities of the country. Of course, the analysis of the influence of the harmonious distribution of the production forces over the territory on the correlation between the production forces and relations cannot exclude the principles of economic and social efficiency. Consequently, our party and state are continually pursuing the better utilization of all material and human resources, the utilization of them with maximum efficiency, the reduction of the transportation expenses for raw material, the wide promotion of scientific and technical progress in all branches, areas and localities, the growth of the degree of stability of the population, the reduction of the migration from the village to the city, and so on.

As is known, our party and state have made big material and financial efforts, providing higher rates of growth to the more poorly developed counties, which has permitted, as Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu judged in the speech at the solemn session on 22 August of this year, the creation of equal working and living conditions for all citizens of our homeland and the raising of all counties to a new, prosperous life. In the next 5-year period, the policy of rational placement of the production forces will continue, securing, as the draft directives of the 13th congress provide, the achievement a per-capita volume of activity of at least 80,000 lei per year in each county, with the majority of the counties exceeding 100,000 lei.

Constantin Barbacioru: The dynamic equilibrium between the production forces and relations, in the spirit of the draft directives of the 13th RCP Congress, presupposes, indeed, the further attainment of the objectives regarding the rational placement of the production forces throughout the country. For the 1986-1990 5-year period, the programs for economic and social development of the counties will provide a substantial convergence of them as regards the per-capita volume of economic activity, along with the growth of the degree of employment of the work force. The raising of all counties to a new, prosperous life, especially the ones lagging behind in the past, demonstrates the correctness of the conception of our party and its secretary general regarding the decisive role of the development of the production forces in the attainment of the objectives and tasks of the socialist revolution, in the victory and consolidation of the new social order, with direct implications for the various aspects of the production and social relations, which, in the final analysis, are reflected in the working and living conditions of all people in the cities and villages. The development of the counties and the economic and social systematization of the territory in the next 5-year period provide precisely the reduction of the essential differences between labor in industry and that in agriculture, the creation of the conditions needed for the transition, in the next period, to the achievement of the higher phase of the socialist society, to the construction of communism in Romania.

Alexandru Toba: The relationship between production and consumption represents a concrete problem closely connected with the topic of our discussion.

At the national party conference in December 1982, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stated that a certain contradiction is manifesting itself between the consumption requirements and society's possibilities of meeting them. Naturally, the needs of the population are continually increasing, but the possibilities of meeting them are limited. In my opinion, a number of factors have contributed to the appearance of this contradiction, including: a lower rate of growth than that provided in the first 2 years of the current 5-year period, as a result of the effects of the world economic crisis; slower development of agriculture than of industry; the rapid growth of the working people's incomes, which has manifested itself in the growth of the solvable demand and of the population's consumption; the development of the production of consumer goods and of services has not always kept pace with the population's demand. The strong growth of the production forces and the providing of proportional, balanced development of all branches of the national economy constitute--as is pointed out in our party's documents--the only solution for overcoming the above-mentioned contradiction.

The programs adopted in recent years in various fields of activity and the draft directives of the 13th congress of our party emphasize the idea of continuity in improving the base created for each field of economic and social activity and the profound humanism of our party's conception regarding the further development of socialist Romania. All the things put in the draft directives have as a major purpose--on the basis of the development and modernization of the national economy--the achievement of the means needed for ensuring the maintenance of the standard of living attained thus far and further increasing the incomes of the population, in its entirety, the real pay, in proportion to the growth of national income and labor productivity, to the reduction of production costs and especially material expenditures, to the general development of society. The faster growth of labor productivity than the growth of pay--a basic requirement of the distribution relations--is indicated expressly by the orientation toward achieving a suitable correlation between the funds allocated for raising the standard of living and the resources for covering them. The implementation of the provisions of the programs adopted by our party and of the provisions of the draft directives of the 13th RCP Congress will provide as full a correlation as possible between the production forces and production and social relations and the achievement of a new quality in the material and spiritual life of the whole populace. All these things represent a new expression of the party's concern for man, for his needs.

#### Modernization and Improvement, a Continual Process with Broad Economic and Social Consequences

Ion Sfirlogea: The achievement of the country's economic and social progress is also closely connected with the continual growth of agriculture's participation in the growth of national wealth, of national income. In this regard, I would stress here the fact that the draft directives of the 13th party congress put a special accent on intensifying and modernizing agriculture, on carrying out the new agrarian revolution, as one of the essential conditions on which the whole national economy's development depends. Thus, the agricultural gross output will rise at an average annual rate of 5.4-5.8 percent.

The thesis substantiated by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu regarding the necessity of providing new proportions among the main branches of our socialist economy, through which the dynamic role of agriculture has been defined, as a basic branch in the country's whole economic and social life, starts from the reality that the speedup of the process of intensifying agriculture presupposes the better organization and use of the country's entire agricultural area, with the application of the newest gains of contemporary science being of a nature to stimulate the development of industry as well as the other branches of the economy. With good reason, our party's documents emphasize the fact that the transition to a new quality in agriculture represents a profound agrarian revolution. The attainment of this radical transformation must involve agriculture more in the stable and balanced growth and development of the country.

The stronger development of agriculture will provide, in ensuing years, the achievement of a better agreement between the production and consumption of agricultural and food products. Although Romania is among the countries that have registered one of the highest rates of growth, nevertheless the average yield per hectare is not yet up to the level of the possibilities. This fact sometimes hinders the implementation of the program for territorial self-supply and the establishment of suitable proportions between industry and agriculture, between the village and the city. The component elements of the new agrarian revolution in Romania are of a nature to eliminate these shortcomings, these contradictions; they form, at bottom, a strategy for achieving a full agreement between the production forces and production and social relations in our socialist agriculture.

Iulia Preda: I subscribe to the idea, noted earlier here, that the achievement of the agreement between the production forces and relations represents a continual process. The measures and actions for bringing into accord the two aspects of the mode of production are taking place under the party's leadership and guidance. In the years of socialism--as is pointed out in the speech given by the party's secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, at the solemn session devoted to the 40th anniversary of the revolutionary act on 23 August 1944--"our party has performed an intense activity to improve the planning, organization and management of all economic and social activity, devoting special attention to the development of working-class, revolutionary democracy." Thus, the fact that these measures are being achieved consciously, with the wide participation of the masses of working people, of the whole populace, constitutes the essential trait of these measures.

The methods of achieving as full an agreement as possible between the production forces and relations in the current stage of development of our society have in view, as a basic objective, the creation of the conditions for operating the new economic mechanism as efficiently as possible. This presupposes that the activity of each economic unit is based solidly on the principles of self-administration and revolutionary, worker self-management. In this context, I would also stress the fact that the working people's participation in the fund for economic and social development and in profits strengthens even more the role of the working people, the true masters of national wealth, as owners, producers and beneficiaries.



Aurel Piturca: I want to bring into discussion the problem of the place and role of socialist ownership in providing the agreement between the production relations and forces. A principal aspect is connected with the development and improvement of ownership relations. From our party's documents and Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's speeches and addresses there results the necessity of replacing the notion of state socialist property with that of social property of the whole populace. This judgment is of particular theoretical but also practical importance; here it is not a question of a mere change in name but, above all, of a new, superior understanding of the relationship between the socialist state and socialist ownership.

Another problem concerns social homogenization. It is a question of a new factor specific to the socialist society. Social homogenization--which will be accentuated more and more in our country as a result of the economic and social transformations that will occur in the next 15 years--acts on and has implications for both the production forces and production and social relations. Under these conditions, there also appears the necessity of developing the working people's consciousness as collective owners and, in connection with this, of developing a new attitude toward property, of conscientizing the necessity of protecting and consolidating it. The participation of the working people with shares in the growth of the fixed assets of the economic units constitutes--as has also been said here--an efficient means of strengthening the consciousness as owners and socialist consciousness in general.

Gheorghe Parvu: In our country, in the process of the adaptation of the production relations to the level and character of the production forces, extensive changes are occurring in the economic and social structure; the proportions between the branches and subbranches of the economy, between industry, agriculture, construction and so on, are changing. The importance of some branches and subbranches is dropping, while that of others, especially the ones that generate scientific and technical progress, is rising, they becoming priority, peak branches or subbranches of economic development. Accordingly, changes are occurring in the proportions between the social classes, between the various categories of working people; the significance of the ones that perform highly and multilaterally skilled labor is increasing.

The dynamics of the social structure in the current stage of development of Romania reflects, directly or indirectly, the economic movement itself, the proportion between various branches and subbranches in the whole of the national economic mechanism. "We can state," Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out in the speech at the Expanded Plenum of the RCP Central Committee in June 1982--"that the current social structure of Romanian society expresses the level of development of the production forces, the place that various branches occupy in the sphere of material and spiritual production."

At the same time, the changes in the social structure must be understood, in my opinion, as a condition for development. I have in mind the multiple effect of the socioprofessional innovations on the improvement of the economy. The establishment of the objectives, of the tasks of development is based on prior knowledge of the possibilities in the field of labor resources, of human potential, orienting beforehand the structures of the employed population and

the behavior of the people in the labor process, as well as adaptation to the long-term requirements of the educational system. It hence follows that the improvement of the social and professional structure in accordance with the exigencies of each stage, and the responsible fulfillment, by each social class or group, of the role that it has in our society, do not represent an end in themselves but have as a purpose the economic prosperity and the well-being of the whole populace. In the process of future development of the country, the unity between the workers, the peasants and the intellectuals is being raised to a new level. "On the basis of the development and modernization of the production forces..." it says in the draft directives for the next 5-year period, "new changes will be produced in the direction of eliminating the essential differences between physical labor and intellectual labor, the differences between the classes, and greater and greater closeness will be achieved between the workers, the peasantry and the intelligentsia, between all social categories, which will bring about the strengthening of the unity and cohesion of the whole populace, the growing homogenization, on a new basis, of our socialist society."

Aware of the fact that everything that is being accomplished in the development of the production forces and in the raising of labor efficiency, of national income and, in general, of the country's economic potential, is subordinate to their material and spiritual well-being, all the social classes and categories are working, in a full unity of interests, for the implementation of the party's program, for the homeland's general progress.

The improvement of social relations, as a result of the development of the production forces, of the general development of the economy, stimulates, in its turn, the promotion of advanced science and technology, the transition to a higher quality in all branches and "links" of the organizational structure of the economy. The community of interests between the social classes and categories offers conditions for the qualitative leap in Romania's development--as it is foreshadowed in the draft directives that will be discussed and adopted by the 13th party congress--to be a result of the activity of all the working people, regardless of nationality, of the whole populace.

The dynamics of the changes in the economic and social structure is a process conducted by the party, on the basis of studying and thoroughly knowing the realities in our country, the basic trends of progress, the directions of evolution of the economy, the interdependences of the economic and social phenomena, and so on. In this broad process, the party is performing a wide activity to improve the professional training, to educate, form and develop the socialist consciousness of all who work.

Elisabeta Traistaru: In close connection with the changes in the economic and social structure, I believe that we should also approach during our discussion the problems connected with improving the forms and methods of organization and management of economic and social life, the whole set of social relations, in accordance with the requirements of the new stage of development of our society, with firmly applying the new economic and financial mechanism and with strengthening revolutionary, worker self-management.



Ion Caracaleanu: I would like to refer to such a problem. Along with the development of the production forces and their rational distribution over the territory, taking into account also the changes that have occurred and are occurring in the social structure as well as the improvements occurring in the production and social relations, our party and state have exhibited continual concern, especially after the ninth party congress, for finding and adopting the most suitable forms of unitary management of all economic and social activity, for creating the organizational framework suitable for the active and conscious participation of the broad masses of people in the management of all fields of social activity. In the masterly speech given on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the victory in the revolution for social and national liberation, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out with great clarity the basic problems that involve the achievement of a new quality of work and life in Romanian society and the scientific organization and management of the socialist society in the current stage. The necessity of improving the principles of the new economic mechanism, of self-management and self-administration, was strikingly underscored.

The theoretical theses substantiated by the party's secretary general with regard to the notion of ownership, and the regulation of the working people's direct participation with shares in the development of the means of production, fit into this framework of concerns. Such regulation--Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out--strengthens "the responsibility of the working people as owners, the concern for the proper performance of economic activity, for self-management and self-administration."

The improvement of the relations of socialist ownership, of exchange and of distribution represents the most eloquent expression of the superiority of working-class, revolutionary democracy, of the fact that the working people are the producers, beneficiaries and owners of all national wealth.

Ion Dragoste: The achievements obtained by our people in the period after the Ninth RCP Congress bring out the affirmation of a new spirit, of a new system of managing society, based on the development and expansion of working-class, revolutionary democracy, on the original approach to the basic problems of the construction of socialism, an expression of the creative application of dialectical and historical materialism to the concrete conditions in Romania. In our party's unitary, systemic view of social life, socialism, as an order, appears as a superior form of social organization, in all its areas, both in the field of production relations, of interhuman relations, and in that of the achievement of authentic democracy, of socialist consciousness, of the formation and affirmation of the human personality.

Elena Marin: In view of the fact that the production relations have socialist ownership as an essence, the improvement of them in the current stage entails, above all, the improvement of the methods and forms of administration and management of the property under the socialist ownership of the whole populace or under cooperative socialist ownership. In this regard, through the measures involving the transition to the new economic and financial mechanism, new, better methods for the wide, direct participation of the masses of working people in the management of the socialist units have been put into practice.

Worker self-management and economic and financial self-administration permit the expansion and the raising of the level and efficiency of the activity of the collective-leadership bodies. The providing of the organizational framework for wider and wider participation by the working people in adopting the decisions and the expansion of the sphere and prerogatives of the collective-leadership bodies have the mission of raising to a higher level the threefold capacity of society's members as owners, producers and beneficiaries of all the results of the economic and social progress of the homeland.

The new methods of expanding economic democracy, of widening the democratic framework for participation by all members of society in discussing and adopting the decisions that involve the basic problems of the forging of the multilaterally developed socialist society, also constitute an expression of the improvement of socialist production relations in the current stage. Ways and methods of participation by all members of society in adopting and carrying out the measures involving the economic and social development of the country, its multilateral progress, have also been institutionalized. In the future, too--as is pointed out in the draft directives of the 13th RCP Congress regarding the economic and social development of Romania in the 1986-1990 5-year period and the long-term orientations up to the year 2000--"the production and social relations will be improved further, the activity of the whole system of bodies of our working-class, revolutionary democracy, the united participation of all categories of working people--in their capacity of producers, owners and direct beneficiaries of everything that is achieved in our country--in the management of economic and social life, of society, in the conscious forging of the new, socialist and communist destiny of Romania, will be raised to an even higher level."

Ion Dragoste: As has also been said here, in the dynamics of the new mode of production, the decisive role goes to the production forces. However, this fact does not exclude but, on the contrary, presupposes also the active influence of the production relations on the production forces. This influence manifests itself, in my opinion, in particular, through man, as an element common to the production forces and relations. Economic activity as well as the other social activities are performed by people, and they are mobilized to action by their consciousness. Through consciousness, through the substantiation of the purposes of action of the individuals and social communities, the production relations directly influence the production forces. On the other hand, the production relations have a relatively autonomous dynamics of their own. This causes some elements of them to outstrip the level of the production forces, becoming a stimulus for their development, or other elements to lag behind the production forces, negatively affecting them.

Mihai Simion: Indeed, under the new order's conditions, the harmonious relationship between the production forces and relations becomes a favorable framework for the affirmation of man, for the objectification of his essence. And this is because in the new economic and social framework the individual gains a new social, economic, political and spiritual status, defined by his being--as has also been said here--simultaneously the owner, producer and beneficiary of the material assets. The objective and subjective conditions that will lead to the elimination of the phenomena of alienation of the human being and to the overall humanization of social life are created in the new society.

Of particular importance in this regard are the orientations contained in the draft directives of the 13th RCP Congress, which, fulfilled, will lead--in the next period--to Romania's transition to a higher stage of the socialist society, will create the conditions needed for the transition to accomplishing and more and more widely manifesting in our society the communist principles of distribution, work and life in all fields of activity. The provisions contained in this historic document put a greater accent both on developing at high rates all economic and social life, all sectors of our national economy, and on improving the functioning of the political system, socialist working-class, revolutionary democracy, and spiritual life.

In our country, the establishment of the new production relations has caused the appearance of new relations between all social categories, the elimination of the opposition of interests, along with the development of the collaboration and mutual assistance of all the working people, who now possess real possibilities of achieving and consolidating a truly human living environment, a new quality of work and life. Mobilized by the party in the vast process of revolutionary transformation of the country, all the working people are acting in the direction of the objective laws for forging the socialist society.

Ion Dragoste: In my opinion, the relations of organization and management of the economy constitute an important element of the production relations that directly influences the development of the production forces. In this regard, worker self-management acts on the growth and modernization of the production forces through important elements such as: the development and protection of the part of national wealth under the administration of the staffs of working people, the accentuation of the utilization of internal reserves, the speedup of the introduction of technical progress, the renovation and modernization of products and technologies, the reduction of specific consumptions, the raising of the degree of skill of the work force, and so on.

On the other hand, a very significant role goes to the institutional mechanisms of the working-class, revolutionary democracy of a new type. Their role increases in proportion to the accentuation of their functionality, the transformation of democracy into a democracy of action. The expansion of socialist working-class, revolutionary democracy presupposes, in its turn, a high level of professional and political training for the working people, called upon to decide on social development and, at the same time, to be responsible for implementing the decisions adopted.

The program for territorial self-management and self-supply constitutes a major component of our party's activity of continually improving the unitary organization and management of the national economy. This presupposes the unitary management of agriculture on the basis of the principle of worker self-management and economic and financial self-administration. The growth of agricultural production with a view to the meeting of the population's consumption needs from the reserves in each county, as well as even greater participation in forming the state's supply of agricultural products, constitutes the main goal. The substantial growth of agricultural production, both vegetable and animal, constitutes the basic factor in territorial self-management and self-supply. The role of the production relations in the development and

modernization of the production forces, in the general dynamics of the mode of production, of all social life, is also distinguished here.

Production relations also contribute to the process of developing the production forces. The consistent application of the socialist principle of distribution in relation to the labor and the results of the labor of each one and the generalization of piecework pay act as important stimuli in the activity of the staffs of working people, for the purpose of developing socialist ownership, of increasing labor productivity, of raising the degree of skill of the work force. Determined directly by socialist ownership, the distribution relations increase its effect on the production forces.

The relatively autonomous dynamics of the production relations is achieved through a process of continually improving the forms and methods of scientific management of economic and social life, as a predominantly conscious process. This brings out even more strikingly the importance of the subjective factor, of the party of the working class in the process of building the socialist economy, and the necessity of accentuating its role of a guiding political force of the whole society.

Miron Radu: I feel that the problem of the relationship between the objective and the subjective, between the material and spiritual factors within the dialectics of the production forces and relations, constitutes a particular application of the theory of the specificity of social determinism. As is known, the mode of production, with its elements and relations, represents the principal social area which founded--if I can say so--within scientific socialism the theory of social determinism and which validates, in the final analysis, its accuracy.

In the current stage, the problem of the subjective factor, of consciousness, in fact, of the relationship between the material and the spiritual, in the functioning of society, in general, and of the mode of production, in particular, has become of even greater and greater significance. And this is, above all, because it is a question of a major problem of social practice, closely correlated with the imperatives of the new stage of building socialism in Romania. For precisely this reason, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stressed in the speech at the Expanded Plenum of the RCP Central Committee in June 1982 the necessity of discussing and thoroughly studying the problem of the role of consciousness in social life, but not apart from the production forces but in an indissoluble unity with them, with their development.

In general, the idea that the mode of production would possess, in all of its areas, a highly material content is accredited. But the mode of production designates, in my opinion, precisely the concrete way in which the process of producing use values is carried out and is expressed through the concrete relationships established between the production forces and relations put into productive action. I believe that the spirituality of the work force is distinguished not only is the act of production proper but also at the level of all other components of the economic process, because within all of them there are objective alternatives in connection with which it is necessary to make a choice; thus, the criterion of choice, value and, in the final analysis, the

people's aspirations have an important role. The problem acquires a marked specificity within the socialist mode of production, in which, on the one hand, the conscious factor is decisive to its functioning and, on the other hand, man is not just a producer, is not just a social subject of production, but also an owner of the means of production, an organizer of the production process and a beneficiary of all his activity, a fact that creates the possibility that in the whole economic process (production, exchanges of activities, distribution, consumption, organization--all regulated by the type of socialist ownership) social consciousness may act unitarily.

Mihai Simion: Socialism also manifests its superiority with regard to providing the agreement between the economic and the political, a sine qua non for the functionality of the new system. This fact finds its expression in that very important elements of the political superstructure--the communist party and the socialist state--through the functions that they have, foreshadow, anticipate--if I can say so--the evolution of the economic system. Moreover, the forging of the new economic base is not even possible if revolutionary political power is not established first, which, under the leadership of the communist party, accomplishes the transition to public ownership of the main means of production and the cooperativization of agriculture--basic, revolutionary points in the forging of socialist production relations. The establishment of the new, socialist production relations is therefore not possible without the convergent action of the political factors. It is not, I believe, without importance for us to also point out in this context the fact that the forging and development of industry, through which the new technical-material base is created, occur not spontaneously but in a organized, planned way, as a result of the action of the new state power, under the leadership of the revolutionary party.

In the course of the evolution of our socialist society, the Communist Party and the socialist state are the factors that concern themselves with harmoniously developing the production forces and relations. They establish such directions of development that the production relations are continually maintained as stimulants of the progress of the production forces, a mandatory condition for providing the material support for increasing the material and spiritual well-being of the whole populace. Undoubtedly, from one stage to another, the level of the production forces and the exigencies of the forging of a strongly developed socialist economy generate new requirements for the political superstructure, requirements that involve not the reduction but, on the contrary, the continual growth of the role of the Communist Party and of the socialist state within the dialectics of social life.

At the same time, I believe that one cannot overlook the fact that--as has also been said here, moreover--although socialist production relations provide the optimum conditions for steadily developing the production forces, nevertheless the process does not occur without contradictions. Of course, in the vast and complex work of forging the new order some disproportions can appear between the various branches and subbranches of production, between the current requirements, the individual interests and the long-term interests proper to the whole society, between the degree of technological equipping and the limits of the training of the work force, and so on. Demonstrating a correct

understanding of the dialectics of socialist social life, of its processual nature, our party and its secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, uncovered in time the factors that determine the appearance of such contradictions, also devising, at the same time, the suitable measures for overcoming them.

In the wide activity of scientific management of society, our party, the vital center of the whole nation, sets in motion the whole political and state mechanism, the broad system of our working-class, revolutionary democracy, securing the harmonious development of the production forces and relations.

Elisabeta Traistaru: During our discussion, a number of problems of wide theoretical and practical interest have been raised--in the spirit of the orientations set down by the party--and new elements have been produced regarding the approach to the relationship between the production forces and relations, in close connection with the qualitative transformations that have occurred and are occurring in our country's economic and social life, transformations organically connected with the decisive contribution of the party's secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, to the development of contemporary revolutionary theory and practice, to the creative rethinking of concepts, to the devising and implementation of the policy of building the new order.

With good reason, the dynamic character of the agreement between the production forces and production relations, of the correlation between the material and spiritual, objective and subjective factors in the deciphering of the dialectical relationship between the production forces and relations, has been stressed here. In this regard, I believe that there should be stressed even more strongly the role of the conscious factor, the role of our party in providing the functionality of the overall social system, the continuity of the revolutionary process, through the continual intensification of the efforts to eliminate dysfunctional, contradictory trends and phenomena that are still appearing in various sectors of economic and social life, through the adoption of measures meant to provide the further development of the production forces and the continual improvement of the production relations with a view to the steady advancement of our country along the path of socialism and communism.

The amplitude and complexity of the tasks that spring from the party's program and the documents that will be adopted by the 13th congress require the further intensification of the activity of studying the realities, the new phenomena and trends that appear in our country as well as on a world level, for substantiating the political, economic and social decisions regarding the future development of Romania along the coordinates of multilateral economic and social progress.

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ROMANIA

NEED FOR SOLIDARITY OF ALL PROGRESSIVE FORCES

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 22-23, 10 Dec 84, pp 47-51

[Article by Constantin Florea: "The Solidarity and Cooperation of all Revolutionary, Democratic, and Progressive Forces--An Objective Necessity of the Contemporary Era"]

[Text] A memorable event of a particular significance for the life of the party and the country, the 13th congress also marked a new and noteworthy point in the assertion of our party as a powerful and active detachment of the international revolutionary movement and of the struggle to reinvigorate human society and to fulfill mankind's fundamental aspirations for progress, freedom, sovereignty, and peace.

Along this line, we should begin by pointing out the profound significance of the fact that the great forum of the Romanian communists unanimously reelected to the supreme position of party secretary general Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu--an ardent patriot and eminent political leader, one of the frontranking militants of the international communist and workers movement, a brilliant promoter of new and democratic relations among revolutionary parties, progressive forces everywhere, and all nations and states, and a prominent personality of the contemporary era. This vitally important political act constitutes the safest guarantee that our party will further extensively contribute to consolidating the forces of socialism, democracy, and progress, and that Romania will increasingly assert itself in the international arena as an active factor in the struggle for the triumph of the noble ideals of national independence, cooperation, and peace.

The document adopted and the proceedings of the congress highlighted the great potential of creative thinking and revolutionary action of our party, its capability to fulfill the historic mission entrusted to it by the party, and its responsibility for the country's destiny and for the general cause of socialism and communism. This is forcefully demonstrated by the basic guidelines contained in Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's congress report--a pragmatic document of an exceptional theoretical and practical value; by the decisions adopted, decisions capable of ensure the continuous progress of the Romanian society toward the goals of socialism and communism; the principled positions adopted and the initiatives formulated on the major problems currently facing all mankind; the theoretical theses advanced on the issues of Romania's current stage of development, international life, and the contemporary world.

At the same time, in line with the long revolutionary traditions of the Romanian communists, the 13th congress also reflected our party's extensive and fruitful international relations. As is known, the congress was attended by 139 delegates from 92 countries, representing communist and workers par-



ties, socialist and social-democratic parties, other democratic and progressive parties and organizations, national liberation movements, progressive and anti-imperialist social and political forces from the entire world; many other friendly parties and organizations sent greetings to our party.

The participation of many foreign delegations in the Romanian communists' congress, and the messages received from 187 revolutionary, workers, and democratic parties, liberation movements, and other progressive organizations have been a forceful and moving expression of solidarity and friendship, a telling proof of the good relations existing between our parties and organizations and of the common wish to further do everything possible to promote an increasingly active cooperation in the struggle against the imperialist, colonialist, and neocolonialist policy, for a new policy of full equality of rights, respect for the independence and sovereignty of each nation and for the right of each people to freely choose their path of development without any foreign interference, and for a world in which all nations can live in prosperity, happiness, independence, and peace.

From the dais of the congress, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, expressing warmest thanks to the parties and organizations that expressed their feelings of solidarity with and friendship for the Romanian communists through their delegations or messages to the congress, forcefully reasserted our party's determination to further strengthen its cooperation and solidarity with the socialist countries, communist and workers parties, and with all the revolutionary, progressive, and democratic forces. "Once again, I want to assure you, the parties and organizations you represent, all the progressive and anti-imperialist forces, and all peace fighters," the party secretary general said, "that the RCP and the Socialist Republic of Romania will always fulfill their honorable duty in the struggle against imperialism and colonialism, and for socioeconomic progress, independence and freedom, disarmament, detente, and peace throughout the world."

The great interest shown by progressive forces everywhere and by world public opinion for the guidelines issued by the 13th congress and the great international response elicited by it once again demonstrate the great prestige enjoyed by our party and by its secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, the founder of modern, socialist Romania and a resolute fighter for the vital aspirations of all the nations.

The major guidelines featured in the congress report illustrate the continuity and consistency of our party's policy of extensive cooperation and international solidarity. This policy, deeply rooted in the history of the RCP and of the democratic and revolutionary movements in our country, rose to a superior level after the victory of the revolution for social and national liberation of August 1944, but it acquired its particular brilliance, an unprecedented dynamics, and a new contents of principles after the ninth congress.

The defining traits of the last 20 years are the continuous increase in our the contribution of our party and of its secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, to strengthening the international communist and workers movement, and the forces of socialism, progress, and peace everywhere, and the increased assertion of the RCP in the world revolutionary movement, in international

life, and in contemporary social developments in general. Unprecedented achievements were scored during this period in the development of our country and in building the comprehensively developed socialist society, whereby our party successfully fulfilled its fundamental national and international duty; fully in keeping with domestic policies, an independent, active, dynamic, profoundly constructive, and realistic foreign policy was consistently promoted, a policy of peace and broad international cooperation, national independence and progress, detente, security, and disarmament; the Romanian communists intensified their participation in debating and resolving the complex problems facing the communist and workers movement, and all mankind; our party continuously increased its contribution to creatively developing the revolutionary theory and practice and enriching the experience of the communist and workers parties by both disseminating its own experience in the socialist revolution and construction, and by its analyses, evaluations, conclusions, and theses on the basic processes and tendencies occurring in the contemporary world, and its solutions to the new problems currently facing mankind; the foreign relations of the RCP and of socialist Romania were continuously diversified and expanded; our party's contribution to consolidating, on a new basis, the cooperation and solidarity of the communist parties and of all workers, progressive, democratic, and anti-imperialist forces acquired a new scope.

The noteworthy achievements obtained in all these areas are indissolubly linked to the creative thinking and militant actions of the party secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, to his revolutionary determination and great sense of responsibility in fulfilling national and international obligations, and to his decisive role for mapping out and implementing Romania's domestic and foreign policy.

The party secretary general has the great historic merit of having established and substantiated a progressive, scientific, and profoundly renewing concept of international solidarity, in keeping with the major requirements of our times and of the current stage of development of the revolutionary movement. In the light of these requirements, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu has formulated a range of new theoretical conclusions and theses of an essential importance for substantiating the objective necessity of cooperation and unity in the conditions of the modern world; understanding the dialectical relationship between revolutionary patriotism and international solidarity; defining the concept of international solidarity; specifying the contents and requirements of solidarity; identifying the principles and norms capable of ensuring the unity of the communist and workers parties, and the solidarity of all revolutionary, democratic, and anti-imperialist forces in the struggle for mankind's freedom, progress, and peace. The correctness of these conclusions and theses--contributions of a major importance to developing the revolutionary theory--has been and is verified by life and by historical experience.

According to the concept of our party and of its secretary general--clearly reasserted in the 13th congress report--one of the primary conditions for strengthening the unity of the revolutionary and progressive forces is the achievement of a new unity and solidarity among the communist and workers parties, which are the most advanced political force of the contemporary world and an important factor for social and national progress, and for international peace and cooperation.

The communist and workers movement has been increasingly more active in the past decades. Led by the communist parties, the peoples of the socialist countries have attained noteworthy successes in building the new system and have risen to higher levels of progress and civilization, thus demonstrating--despite any failings and obstacles--the great prospects that socialism can open up for freedom, development, and prosperity for all mankind. In a number of countries newly freed from the yoke of colonialism, revolutionary government parties opting for the Marxist ideology and scientific socialism, are guiding their people's efforts along the path of socialist development and of independent socioeconomic growth. At the same time, in certain developed capitalist countries, communist parties have scored successes in consolidating their ties with the workers class and with other categories of working people and in establishing strategies of advance toward socialism in keeping with the specific conditions prevailing in the respective countries, thus asserting themselves as important political forces at both a national and international level.

Naturally, in view of a number of objective and subjective, domestic or international factors, the communist and workers movement does not develop uniformly; it does not advance at the same pace and with the same results everywhere. The concept of the "triumphal march," of a "continuously ascending development," of the "linear" progress free of obstacles and contradictions--which reflect a nondialectical and simplistic view of the revolutionary process--have been discredited by life. Currently we are witnessing a complex and contradictory process of growth and maturation, of strengthening the ranks and political influence of the communist parties, a process that is naturally encountering not only victories and successes, but also--in some countries and periods--failure and even temporary defeat.

Thus, the contemporary communist movement is developing unevenly; in general, however, and as has been amply demonstrated in history, its evolution follows an ascending line, objectively determined by the laws governing historical development. As our party secretary general stated, "Although at present international life is plagued by serious and considerable contradictions, tension, and conflicts, and although simultaneously with an increase in the upsurge of people's struggle for freedom, independence, and progress there are also setbacks and drops in the intensity of this struggle, one can state that the general tendency is by and large positive. The ideas of socialism, independence, and progress are gaining ground, despite difficulties and attempts by retrograde forces to stop the wheel of history... The peoples, the true makers of history, have the strength and capability to overcome any difficulties and obstacles, and to build a better and more just world on earth, a world of peace and cooperation."

The objective laws of history necessarily lead toward the increasing assertion of the role of the communist and workers parties in organizing and leading the revolutionary struggle, a fact which makes it necessary to strengthen the force and influence of each communist party and its political, ideological, and organizational unity, and, at the same time, to consolidate international solidarity and cooperation among all communist and workers parties.

Proceeding from these considerations, the RCP consistently endeavors to forge a new unity in the communist movement, a unity based on respect for full equality of rights, noninterference in the internal affairs of other parties,

and observance of each party's right to independently map out its policies. Such a unity can be achieved only by taking into account the great diversity of historical, socioeconomic, political, and national conditions amid which the communist parties are acting, a diversity that is further deepening and that constitutes an objective reality in the modern world. In these conditions, it is only natural that the communist and workers parties should independently work out their political line and their revolutionary strategy and tactics, by independently and creatively applying the general truths of scientific socialism to the specific conditions prevailing in each country.

The independence of the communist parties is one of the basic conditions for the fulfillment of their historic role and for the complete and effective integration of each party in the revolutionary struggle; at the same time, it constitutes one of the basic premises for strengthening their international cooperation and solidarity. It is clear that the profound differences between the level and historical paths of development of the various countries, the increase in the complexity of the revolutionary struggle, the new realities and national and international issues make the existence of a center claiming "the leadership" of the communist and workers movement inconceivable. By its very essence, the new type of unity of the communist movement is opposed to any relations of subordination among parties and any hegemonistic attempt to impose some "general unique line."

According to the concept of our party and its secretary general, the progress of the revolutionary movement and strengthening the cooperation and solidarity of the communist parties require extensive exchanges of views and opinions, and discussions on the current aspects of the struggle for freedom and social progress and of advance toward socialism, in the spirit of creative Marxism and in keeping with the new realities and tasks of the workers movement, and with the great changes that have occurred in the development of the modern world. In order to ensure a new type of unity among parties, these matters must of course be discussed in a democratic atmosphere and on the basis of respect for the positions and interests of each party, and for the right of each party to act independently and autonomously and, by sharing its own experience, to make its original contribution to enriching the revolutionary theory. Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu consistently points out that only by asserting and observing the independence of each party, and only by understanding and boldly promoting what is new and a creative, dialectical attitude in all areas, can one be said to be acting in a truly revolutionary spirit, and can the struggle of the working masses and of the democratic forces be successfully led along the line imposed by the necessity of social-historical development and by the laws of progress.

Believing that everything possible must be done to enforce respect for the equal right of each party—regardless of its size or experience—to independently decide on its policy and revolutionary strategy and tactics, in keeping with the conditions prevailing in its country, without any foreign interference, our party consistently emphasizes the fact that this inalienable right does not in the least come into conflict with solidarity among parties or with the development of an extensive and close cooperation among them in the struggle for democracy, socialism, and peace. On the contrary, between the assertion of the autonomy and independence of each party, and the development of the unity and solidarity of the communist and workers parties there is a

close dialectical unity and a mutual dependence. The permanent and organic harmonization of endeavors to assert the communist parties as fully independent and autonomous parties in their decisions and revolutionary actions with endeavors to continuously strengthen, on new bases, their unity and international solidarity constitutes one of the major features of our party's policy and international activities.

Natural, and even inevitable differences of views on various aspects of the revolutionary struggle and of contemporary developments cannot and must not constitute an unsurmountable obstacle to strengthening solidarity and cooperation. On the contrary, a major condition for overcoming such differences of views is precisely the continuous consolidation of their unity and cooperation in the struggle to fulfill their basic common ideals.

The RCP consistently strives to find means of strengthening solidarity and unity and to overcome differences, a fact which serves the interests of each party, as well as those of the international revolutionary, progressive, and democratic movement. As is stated in the 13th congress report, some of the problems currently existing in the communist and workers movement stem from outdated practices of interference in the affairs of other parties; however, they were also generated by the great changes and the new problems emerging in international life. Our party resolutely speaks out for utterly discontinuing any obsolete, anachronistic practices from the past, and for taking into consideration the new realities created by socioeconomic development and by revolutionary changes in the world. "In view of the complex problems facing the modern world," the report presented by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu at the 13th congress states, "we believe that everything possible should be done to overcome disputes, strengthen solidarity, and achieve a new unity, based on equality and respect for each party's right to independently decide its political line, in keeping with the historical, national, and social conditions prevailing in each country."

The development and consolidation of the relations of friendship and cooperation among the communist parties currently assume various forms. Along this line, of a particular importance are bilateral contacts, meetings, and talks between party leaders, as they permit direct briefings, and a first hand and better understanding of the positions held by each party. At the same time, as the report suggests, meetings and mutual consultations, including regional and international consultations and conferences, are a necessity for strengthening unity and solidarity. Naturally, the purpose of such consultations and conferences is to permit a free and democratic exchange of views, and not to impose decisions or views on other parties. As Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stressed in his report to the 13th congress, "Resolutely opposing any interference in the affairs of other parties, we believe that we should not be afraid to meet, discuss, and find ways of bolstering solidarity and unity, since this is a primary condition for the unity of the progressive and revolutionary forces everywhere, for the policy of socioeconomic progress, and for cooperation and peace in the world."

In point of fact, even in his report to the 3 august 1978 meeting of the party and state central aktiv, referring to the idea of organizing new international meetings of communist parties similar to the one held in Berlin in 1976, our party secretary general said: "It is our belief that we cannot dispense with



such events and with international meetings...I even believe that the periodical organization of international meetings is a must. Naturally, any attempt to have a single center of leadership of the communist and workers movement is impossible in the conditions of the contemporary revolutionary struggle, of the great development of the communist parties, and of the enormous diversity of conditions amid which they carry out their activities."

Life and events have shown that those views and conclusions have remained entirely valid. Moreover, in recent years, certain parties and political organizations--socialist and social-democratic, liberal, democratic-christian, and so forth--have intensified their international activities. At the same time, anticommunist and antisocialist propaganda has intensified, and extreme right, fascist, and neofascist organizations have been activated, a fact which poses a great danger for the cause of democracy and social progress. Consequently, as our party secretary general has repeatedly urged, the communist parties must give a resolute riposte to reactionary bourgeois ideology, forcefully retaliate against anticommunist tendencies and lines, and resolutely reaffirm their revolutionary positions on various aspects of international life and of the contemporary world.

The new world realities make it necessary to renounce the old, limiting, narrow, and unilateral concepts of international solidarity, and to substantially enrich this idea, to forcefully expand its sphere of action, and to grasp it as a vast, complex, and all-embracing concept. Increasingly wider acceptance is gained by the truth--long since upheld by our party and by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu--that international solidarity and cooperation can no longer be limited to the sphere of the socialist countries or the communist parties, although, of course, these revolutionary forces play a particularly important role in the struggle for peoples' freedom, peace, and progress. Currently, the concept of international solidarity and cooperation, in the view of our party, embraces unity, cooperation, and solidarity with all the socialist countries and with all the communist and workers parties, as well as unity, cooperation, and solidarity with socialist and social-democratic parties, progressive government parties in developing countries, national liberation movements, other progressive and democratic organizations and parties, major contemporary movements for peace and disarmament, and with the anti-imperialist forces of peace and progress everywhere.

Today, more than ever in the past, strengthening the cooperation and solidarity among all these forces constitutes an essential condition for the victory of the struggle for national freedom and independence, peace, and social progress. This principled conclusion, brilliantly highlighted in Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's congress report, accounts for the great revolutionary changes that have occurred in the world at national and international level; for the enormous scope and increasing diversification of the forces engaged or objectively interested in the struggle for independence, progress, and peace; for the growing complexity of the process of progressive renewal of society; for the new and very acute problems currently facing all mankind and, primarily, for the increased danger of a nuclear catastrophe.

Developing cooperation and solidarity at both a national level and in the international arena, among all revolutionary, progressive, and advanced forces and among all the nations on the fundamental issues of the modern world--above

and beyond any disputes and differences of views on other problems--is in keeping with the vital interests of each people and each nation, and of the general cause of national independence, social progress, cooperation, and peace. "In these serious international circumstances, when the very existence and life of people and of nations are in jeopardy," Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stressed in his speech at the solemn meeting of the congress devoted to the introduction of the foreign delegations, and of the parties that sent greetings to the great communist forum, "we once again hope that, regardless of certain differences of opinions, we will resolutely act to strengthen cooperation and solidarity, to preclude a new world war--which would inevitably turn into a nuclear war--and achieve general, and primarily nuclear disarmament, to free Europe from nuclear arms, achieve a new world economic order, and build a better and more just world, a world of equality among all the nations, independence, progress, and international peace."

In the current conditions, it is extremely important to promote cooperation among the communist, socialist, and social-democratic parties in the struggle for a better and more just world, for peace and disarmament, and for democratic and radical changes that can pave the way for the transition to socialism. As the Central Committee report to the 13th congress emphasizes, "We resolutely advocate strengthening cooperation among all the forces that militate for progress and socialism. Cooperation between communist and workers parties, and socialist and social-democratic parties is a vital necessity for peoples' progress and independence, and for disarmament and peace throughout the world."

Socialist and social-democratic parties are a component element of the international workers movement and an important factor in the struggle against imperialism and colonialism, and for peace and disarmament, freedom and social progress, and understanding and cooperation among nations. There are, of course, differences and divisions on matters of principle between the communist parties on the one hand, and the socialist and social-democratic parties on the other; however, these differences cannot and must not preclude dialogue among all the parties of the workers class, and the establishment of relations of solidarity and cooperation among them, on the basis of equality of rights and respect for the identity and options of each party. The attention must be focused on what the parties of the workers class have in common and on what can unite them in the struggle for peace and progress, an endeavor that is completely feasible.

There are indeed many issues on which the communist, socialist, and social-democratic parties can and are dutybound to act jointly, such as: halting the arms race and beginning disarmament, safeguarding peace, eliminating the policy of force and peacefully settling all interstate conflicts and international problems, ensuring a lasting security in Europe and throughout the world, eradicating underdevelopment and establishing a new world economic order, and forging new relations among all the states, based on equality and respect for national independence and sovereignty. The communists, socialists, and social-democrats, as well as all workers parties and organizations, can and must act in complete understanding and cooperation on those fundamental issues of our times.



The success of the struggle for independence and social progress and the triumph of international peace and cooperation also require relations of close unity and cooperation with national liberation movements, greater solidarity with people in countries struggling to win, defend, and consolidate their national independence, and expanded cooperation with progressive parties in countries that have shed the yoke of imperialist domination and embarked on a path of free and independent development.

Events demonstrate that the national liberation movements, the newly independent nations, and the peoples in the countries that strive to attain independent socioeconomic development constitute one of the major revolutionary forces of our times and an important factor for the struggle against imperialism, colonialism, and neocolonialism, for the establishment of new interstate relations, and for the triumph of the policy of detente and peace.

Proceeding from these considerations, it is necessary to intensify the assistance granted to peoples' struggle to eliminate the last remnants of colonialism and imperialism and to establish independent national states, and to develop ties with national liberation movements, with progressive government parties in the developing countries, and with all the revolutionary and democratic forces in those countries in the struggle for socioeconomic progress, a better life, and a new world economic and political order--this being, as is stated in the 13th congress report, "an important factor in the struggle to consolidate the independence and progress of each people."

Currently, increasingly large and varied social classes and categories, circles of different political and philosophical beliefs and convictions, realistic bourgeois statesmen, religious representatives, democratic militants, and so forth, are acting for detente and international cooperation, peace and disarmament, independence, and social progress. The broad masses are increasingly active in the struggle for national independence, democracy, progress, and peace; they are resolutely asserting their determination to actively and directly participate in international life and to have a say on how to resolve mankind's problems. One of the phenomena that has been gaining in scope in recent years is the intensification of mass movements to halt the arms race, achieve nuclear disarmament, preclude a new world war, and safeguard world peace.

In these circumstances, it is necessary to further develop relations with democratic parties and political forces, democratic-christian, liberal, and other parties and organizations, and to actively and resolutely support peace and disarmament movements.

The problem of war and peace currently exceeds class interests, because it affects the vital interests of all social classes and strata, of all the states, without distinction, and of all the peoples; safeguarding peace has become the fundamental problem of all mankind. A nuclear war will have no winners and no losers; all mankind will suffer and perish.

Socialism has always stood and continues to stand for peace, because the new social system and peace are organically and indissolubly linked. The long traditions of the workers class, communist and workers parties, socialist and social-democratic parties, and other progressive forces of struggle against

the arms race, and for peace and disarmament, are of course well known; a great response is currently elicited by the important initiatives and actions taken by the socialist countries, communist and workers parties, and other revolutionary forces to halt the dangerous course of events and defend peace. It is equally clear that the peace-loving forces are continuously increasing and that they attract the most diverse categories and strata of people. In these conditions, strengthening solidarity with peace and disarmament movements and supporting them has become a primary requirement of international solidarity.

In the spirit of this requirement, our party and all our people—who, through President Nicolae Ceausescu's prestigious initiatives and through the great demonstrations organized in Romania, have expressed their determination to contribute to building a world free of arms and wars—have expressed their complete solidarity with the great movements for peace and disarmament in Europe and on other continents; they have been and will always be at the side of the peoples' struggle against the arms race and for disarmament, primarily nuclear disarmament, for a lasting peace, and for peoples' right to live in peace, free of wars. Our party, socialist Romania, and all the Romanian people are determined to further make every possible effort to strengthen cooperation and solidarity with all the peoples and all peace-loving forces in the world.

The forum of the Romanian communists reasserted our party's and people's solidarity with and support for the struggle of all revolutionary and progressive forces and all peoples against the imperialist and neocolonialist policies, domination and exploitation, racism and apartheid, and for social and national liberation, democratic changes, the free and independent development of all the nations along the path of socioeconomic progress, and for international peace and cooperation.

The 13th congress has emphasized our party's determination to further act resolutely and consistently, in the spirit of the party program and of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's concepts, to strengthen cooperation and solidarity with the communist and workers parties, socialist and social-democratic parties, national liberation movements and government parties in newly independent countries, democratic parties and anti-imperialist forces in all the countries, and with all the peoples of the world.

Our party is convinced that, by acting in unity, the peoples can alter the course of events, prevent world war and nuclear catastrophe, and impose disarmament and peace in the world. As Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stressed in his report to the 13th congress, "Although there are many problems to be solved, we look with confidence to mankind's bright future of peace and well-being, and we do everything possible to actively contribute to achieving a better and more just world, a world of equality, freedom, independence, and peace."

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ROMANIA

'DENIGRATORS' OF NATIONALITY POLICY CONDEMNED

Bucharest ROMANIA LITERARA in Romanian 10 Jan 85 p 8

[Article by university professor Dr. Gh. Ionita: "A Resolute Stand Against the Denigration of the Correct Nationality Policy of Our Party and State"]

[Text] An entire country--socialist Romania--an entire people--the Romanian people--an entire party--the RCP--have begun the new year--1985-- with robust optimism and keenly receptive to all the aspects of the new requirements stemming from the historic documents and decisions of the 13th party congress, which form a great and inspiring work program for all the people, designed to continuously promote the development of our beloved homeland.

With the satisfaction produced by the great achievements attained in the socialist period, particularly after the ninth congress and since Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu has been leading the party, all of us now feel the pulse of the fast pace that has, in many areas, propelled us toward a safe and bright future: on the map of our country we now count new cities, factories, and plants, villages forever wrested from sad backwardness, new schools and universities, new institutes of art, science, and culture that have raised all the counties to a blossoming life. Within the framework of the vast revolutionary process of the socialist system, the nationality problem has also been resolved throughout our country, on the basis of the principles of scientific socialism and Marxism-Leninism.

This is an edifying reality, asserted and recognized by all the sons of this land, who live and work with the awareness that they are building a new destiny in complete unity.

That is why, as a plowman of the field of history, I was and am always stupefied to learn from works published abroad and from certain foreign magazines and publications, to what length of historical falsification, pettiness, disinformation, and practically provocations can go people at odds with the elementary rules of honesty, scientific truth, and respect for the distant or more recent history of our people. Naturally, in such an area--to which experience has taught us not to remain indifferent--"we must resolutely rebut," as Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu has enjoined us, "any attempts by such foreign reactionary circles to interfere in our domestic affairs, to misrepresent and falsify the realities prevailing in Romania!"

In point of fact, as we all know, it is no coincidence that the more significant our successes in building socialism in our country, the more slandered and denigrated are Romanian realities by the most reactionary imperialist, neo-fascist, and Horthyst circles, with their long avowed and unabated hatred of socialism. And as we also know, those are joined by certain elements of the old Romanian exploiting classes or reactionary circles, hostile elements who

deserted the country a long time ago or more recently, and who are also attempting to denigrate and distort realities in Romania. In this context, we are compelled to recall those former Romanians who, for a dishonorable fistful of silver, have become the docile tools of imperialist agencies of espionage and anticommunist propaganda. In actual fact, the Romanian people will not listen, and can certainly not learn anything, from such characters--whatever they call themselves and whoever their paymaster is--from the professional denigrators who sit in front of the evil microphones of the "Free Europe" pirate station or are paid by who knows what nests of anticommunist and anti-Romanian propaganda, calling themselves political refugees once in Munich, once in Paris, or elsewhere; the Romanian people have only contempt for them, for having made a profession out of slandering Romania!

And with that, we think there is nothing else to be said about them...

The motivations of such behavior is easily perceived by any man of good faith, here or abroad. People of their ilk are only paid and encouraged through various means to give Romanian issues shady interpretations, designed to hurt the basic interests of our people, whether they be territorial, economic, political, moral, or of any other nature. Precisely for that reason, as is stated in Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's report to the 13th party congress, "... we must adopt a resolute attitude and firmly repel any attempt by reactionary and imperialist circles to denigrate our people's great achievements and the just nationality policy of our workers-revolutionary party and state."

At the same time, as our party-state leader, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, stated at the 27 December 1984 joint meeting of the councils of working people of Hungarian and German nationalities, "... we must grasp that now, as in the past, reactionary circles rally against the revolutionary movement of the nations and unite their forces to oppress people of any nationality. They do this today as they have done it in the past. In their hatred of socialism, they unite whatever their nationality, and use all types of diversion toward a single purpose: to harm socialism and the building of socialism, and to divert people from building a better and more just system, and a classless society."

It is very regrettable that in today's world people can still fall prey to the most reactionary circles and their activities, and be influenced by such suspect actions, and that some people still try to accredit the "thesis" that parties or governments in one country should deal with matters concerning nationalities in another country. Such attempts and "theses," Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out, "...have nothing to do with the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary concept; they are foreign theses and, by whatever name they are called, they are the creation or express the concepts of reactionary circles that seek means of interfering in the affairs of other nations, barring progress, or at the least, raising obstacles in the path of development of another people."

In the guilt-fraught atmosphere in which such circles and individuals wallow, there sometimes appear falsifiers of history who support the most reactionary theses of bourgeois and imperialist historiography, extol the former empires, including the policy of domination and oppression of other nations, and shed unending tears over the ruins of oppressive empires that have disappeared forever and have forfeited the right of appearing before history in any disguise.

In recent years I have read "works of history" published abroad on such topics, under well or less known names or aliases, that constitute embarrassing attempts to demonstrate, through all kinds of apologetical artifices, what is actually impossible to demonstrate.

That is why, reasserting the spirit of responsibility for ensuring a normal international climate, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu said in his speech on 27 December 1984: "It must become clear that, given the current international conditions, when reactionary circles are again raising the banner of revanchism, by questioning in any way the borders delimited after World War I or II, one willingly or unwillingly joins the revanchist and irredentist circles, those circles which threaten peace and security in Europe."

And if that is how things are, who stands to profit by all the many falsifications of history and the overt provocations to sovereignty on the continent and throughout the world?

As asserted by the 13th congress, the Romanian people are determined to unflinchingly implement the party program for the sake of the present and of the country's free and independent future, and to raise Romania to higher peaks of progress and civilization; this, too, constitutes their riposte to all those who are not happy about our great achievements on all the fronts of building the comprehensively developed socialist society and of advance to communism.

At the beginning of 1985, fully engaged in enthusiastic efforts to build the country's bright future, we deeply honor, and we direct our feelings of gratitude and great appreciation to the brilliant leader of our party and state, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, the man to whose name and prodigious activities our contemporary history is indissolubly linked.

With a feeling of great satisfaction for everything that we have achieved and are achieving on all the fronts of the socialist construction in Romania and for what we represent in the 20th year since the historic ninth party congress, fully aware of our place in the present and future society, and determined to carry through the inspired patriotic message passed on to us from the past, we feel dutybound--today more than ever--to exemplarily respond to Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's call to "intensively develop a spirit of love for the country, party, and people, and to blend general education with the patriotic spirit of love for the glorious past struggles of our people, who, at the most difficult times, managed to overcome the difficulties and safeguard their existence and socioeconomic development, to establish a national state, begin building socialism, and progress toward communism."

We view all this as the guarantee for Romania's continuous progress along the path leading to the comprehensively developed socialist society and communism. We view this as the guarantee for fulfilling in the future the bright dream of our unique national poet, expressed in his stirring patriotic pronouncement that we would like to paraphrase in the sense of contemporary realities: "... to your great present, a great future!"



6 March 1985

## ROMANIA

## INCREASING ROLE OF STATE, CENTRAL PLANNING CITED

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 22-23, 10 Dec 84, pp 19-22

[Article by university lecturer Dr. Viorica Nicolau: "Increasing the Role of the State and of the Single National Plan for the Uniform and Harmonious Development of the Country"]

[Text] The brilliant report presented at the 13th congress by the party secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, sums up in a consistent and revolutionary concept the complex strategy of our country's development, and maps out the ways and means of action for building a modern, efficient, and powerfully developed economy that can contribute to consolidating the country's independence and sovereignty, and that will permit Romania to become "a comprehensively developed socialist country from both the viewpoints of industry, agriculture, education, science, and culture, and from that of general standard of living and civilization" by the year 2000.

Within the framework of the revolutionary changes planned for the future, a particularly important role is to be played by improving socioeconomic planning and leadership by even more markedly increasing the role of the state and of a uniform and balanced leadership of all activities on the basis of the single national plan.

As a general and fundamental law, determined in relationship with the other objective laws, the working people's joint ownership of the means of production—both state and cooperative—objectively requires and makes possible the uniform leadership of socioeconomic life by the socialist state, with the aid of the single national plan, and on the basis of the principle of democratic centralism. The socialist ownership of the means of production, generated by the need to resolve the fundamental contradiction between the social character of production and the private-capitalist form of ownership of the old system, validates the need to give society the authority over the means of production, and, implicitly, over the results of production. Thus, the social form of manifestation of the production forces is made to agree with the level and nature of the forces of production, becoming an activating force for the general progress of the socialist society. Under socialism, joint ownership gives all the people full equality regarding the ownership of the production forces, and, for the first time in mankind's modern history, gives the national wealth to the people, to the socialist nation, who can and must harmoniously use it within the framework of the national economic system.

The running and utilization of joint property are governed by the process of socialist reproduction, a process within which society consistently and consciously synchronizes in time and in space its resources and its needs, both of which are scientifically determined. This synchronization, subordinated to

the final end of socialist production--the full and harmonious development of the human personality--must rationally identify and utilize resources and blend the various categories of economic interests, so as to achieve an increased economic efficiency, reflected in the best possible solutions for meeting requirements.

As the socialist division of labor deepens under the impact of the development and modernization of the production forces, both the resources, labor potential, and actual manpower of the society, and the system of social requirements for productive and non-productive consumption are increasing in complexity. It thus becomes ever more difficult to grasp the scope, structure, and tendencies of resources and needs. Options in the allocation of resources in keeping with social needs involve many investigations and considerations, and varied combined solutions, so that, both present and future needs can be met in the best manner possible on the basis of the resources existing at each stage of development. The indivisible character of socialist ownership allows us at any moment to ascertain, with the aid of a modern informational system, the situation concerning both resources and needs.

The status of united socialist owners of all the members of our society renders production secrets--the trademark of societies based on private ownership--superfluous, and ensures precise information on the economic potential and the requirements of each collective of working people. On the basis of this knowledge, the society as a whole, each collective separately, and all the working people strive to establish an optimal ratio between resources and needs, without which rapid and balanced socioeconomic progress would be practically impossible.

The running of the socialist economy and the achievement of an optimal ratio necessarily require appropriate central bodies to plan, organize, and lead the uniform process of social reproduction. As Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stressed in his report to the 13th congress, "the society will always require its own central bodies to lead socioeconomic activities on the basis of the resolute implementation of objective social laws, to preclude disequilibrium, resolve contradictions, ensure the harmonious development of all sectors, and continuously improve the people's material and cultural well-being."

In itself, the existence of central bodies as major factors of the socialist economic mechanism pertains to the very nature of the new social system. Such bodies are the only ones capable of understanding, guiding, and coordinating the socialist system of interests, and of efficiently incorporating partial economic elements within an optimal general economic whole, in keeping with the interests of all the people. As is known, the social division of labor, through its very nature, assigns a well determined function to each individual unit, regardless of its size. Malfunctions in a given sector can have repercussions on other sectors, and, in the final analysis, on the general efficiency with which the unit's resources are utilized.

As long as specialized activities are based on private ownership, the primary stress is placed on the interests of each owner, who strives to obtain maximum effect from his right of ownership, even at the expense of greater or lesser loss to other members of the society and, implicitly, even if general social requirements are met below the real potential of the respective national econ-



omy. On the other hand, socialist ownership, by restructuring the system of economic interests, puts the emphasis on the general interests of the society --on fully meeting social needs by optimally utilizing resources-- thus ensuring secure conditions for meeting both collective and individual interests. Only when social production is increased and diversified does it become possible to improve the working conditions of each collective and the quality of life of all the people. Uniform leadership at the level of the national economy reflects the sovereignty of our socialist nation over its wealth, and the united and responsible attitude of all the people toward safeguarding and developing their joint property.

In our country, it is the socialist state that coordinates and uniformly leads all socioeconomic activities. As supreme representative of united, socialist owners, the socialist state organizes the joint life of the entire nation. It is the tool through which the people, governed by the general policy strategy established by the RCP, ensure a better utilization of the joint property and the balanced and harmonious development of the entire national economy, thus contributing to raising the country's prosperity and the living standard of the working people, and promoting Romania's sovereign and competitive participation in the international flow of material and cultural assets.

As we advance along the path of building the comprehensively developed socialist society, the role of the state as central body of uniform leadership of all socioeconomic areas becomes more forceful. It is the merit of the 13th party congress and of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu personally to have clearly and convincingly outlined the thesis concerning the objective need to more markedly increase in the future the role of the state in organizing, planning, and uniformly leading all socioeconomic activities, on the basis of the single national plan, with a view to ensuring the rapid and harmonious development of our society. Along this line, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stressed: "We can state without fear of being mistaken, that there can be no question of diminishing in any way the role of the state within the uniform leadership of the society. On the contrary, the forceful development of the production forces and the unprecedented expansion of socioeconomic activities demand as an objective need that we improve and increase the role of the state for securing the uniform and harmonious development of our society."

The great objectives established in the congress directives for the 1986-90 5-year plan and for the period ending in the year 2000 require unrelenting efforts to coordinate the understanding and supervision of the multiple interdependent factors in our national economy, particularly now, at the stage of intensive development. If we consider, for example, the qualitatively new task of increasing the contribution of scientific research to the country's socioeconomic progress, it becomes obvious that its implementation is indissolubly linked to the unitary leadership of all activities on the basis of the single national plan. The entire range of tasks concerning socialist Romania's future development depends on scientific research, technological development, and the extensive promotion of technical progress. It is indeed necessary to find solutions to a number of problems of a decisive importance for the rapid progress of our country. As Comrade Academician Dr. Engineer Elena Ceausescu emphasized in her speech to the congress, "All scientific and technological research factors owe it to the party and people to become frontrunners in the area of technical progress, and to provide new and modern technologies in all

the areas, technologies required to achieve the intensive development of industry, agriculture, and all other sectors." In these conditions, scientific research must become thoroughly acquainted with problems in each area, refer them to the international state-of-the-art, make them the subject of research studies, mobilize strictly justified resources out of the country's total potential in keeping with the results expected, and so forth. The results of research must be speedily incorporated in production in close correlation with the logic imposed by the social division of labor. All these objectives require a close and uniform coordination at the level of the national economy.

Endeavors to enhance the role of the state as a body of uniform coordination of all socioeconomic activities constitute one of the permanent means through which the RCP seeks to improve the leadership mechanism of the socialist construction, and are sanctioned in the party program as one of the major directions of action in the process of building the comprehensively developed socialist society.

Various measures have been taken since the 12th congress to improve the activities of the state and its bodies of socioeconomic management. These improvements, effected in close relationship with increases in the country's economic potential, the improvement and development of the system of bodies of workers' revolutionary democracy, and the development of the socialist consciousness of the masses, have greatly accentuated the democracy of unitary leadership. Our state is increasingly acting as a state of workers' revolutionary democracy. This characteristic emerges primarily from the profoundly democratic establishment and operation of central and local state bodies, and also from the fact that, within the exercise of its functions, the state gradually reduces those of a repressive nature, and intensifies and develops those pertaining to purposeful organization and leadership. As is emphasized in the report presented at the 13th congress, "The functions of purposeful organization and leadership of activities will never disappear in a socialist society."

As the representative of the general interests of all the working people, the socialist state is expected to decide on problems of a great complexity and responsibility concerning the general development of the national economic system. Some of the issues that fall under the competence of the state of workers' revolutionary democracy, led by the RCP, are: establishing the major branches of the national economy; distributing the national revenues between the consumer and development funds; the dynamics and structure of plan investments according to branches, departments, and areas; the system of training and allocating the labor force; the major directions of scientific research and technological progress; price and tariffs, financial and credit policies; guidelines for actions to improve the people's quality of life, and increasingly anchoring the national economy in the international economic flow.

The state is continuously improving its working style and methods within the efficient exercise of its functions. Along this line, special attention is paid to raising the qualitative level of the activities of all state bodies, simplifying the state apparatus, efficiently wielding economic levers, using scientific criteria in decision-making, and harmoniously blending the activities of state bodies with those of the bodies of workers democracy that are operating at macroeconomic level, such as the National Council of Working People, the congresses, conferences, and meetings on areas and branches of ac-

tivity, and so forth. The body that most extensively represents all working people in the socioeconomic leadership in our country is the Socialist Democracy and Unity Front.

The uniform coordination and leadership of our socialist economy are governed by the single national plan, which, through a complex system of indexes, establishes the major directions and objectives of socioeconomic activities for yearly, 5-yearly, or longer periods of time, and the allocation and utilization of material, financial, and human resources with a view to attaining the objectives established. The single national plan--the socialist state's tool for leading all socioeconomic activities--is worked out and implemented on the basis of observance of the principle of democratic centralism.

During the years of building socialism, a vast experience has been amassed on the implementation of democratic centralism in the leadership of the economy and of the society as a whole. This experience has demonstrated the indissoluble link existing between central, unified leadership and local autonomy, as well as the fact that this link may be modified under the influence of many factors.

The socialist economy, as a unitary whole based on joint property, exists and functions only through an extensive interdependence among specialized units, which are its basic components. In a socialist society, people can exercise their status of united socialist owners only by putting at the disposal of each specialized unit a specific share of the national wealth, which the unit utilizes in accordance with the objective logic of the social division of labor. As it is stressed in the 13th congress report, "As producer and owner of a part of the national wealth--which is the property of all the people--and as consumer of the same, each collective of working people is jointly responsible for the management and development of the respective unit." This reality is at the root of the dialectical unity between unitary, centralized leadership and the relative autonomy and independence of decision of the units.

Under socialism, the socioeconomic leadership may be neither too centralized nor too decentralized; it is realized through the simultaneous and interwoven exercise of both leadership styles. Excessive centralization produces a number of negative effects apt to affect efficiency and to generate superfluous duplication and red tape, which in turn make socioeconomic processes more laborious, curtail initiative, and favor inertia and subjectivism. As for the other aspect, i.e., promoting total local autonomy, that in fact neutralizes the social character of the ownership of the means of production and makes the very revolutionary transformation of the society questionable. As Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu highlighted in his congress report, "were we to renounce the principle of leadership based on the single plan of socioeconomic development, activities would inevitably become disorganized and contradictions would emerge, with serious repercussions on building a socialist society, developing our country, and raising the people's material and cultural living standard."

Naturally, an optimal correlation is consciously created by the communist party and the socialist state between unitary leadership and local autonomy at each stage of the socialist construction, under the influence of the development of the production forces, deepening social division of labor, maturing relations of joint ownership, increased management and organization capabilities of the

masses, establishment of a broadly democratic organizational system, etc.

In the first years of the socialist construction in Romania, centralized leadership was more intensive. Gradually, as the new system matured, the role of workers' self-management at unit level increased. As the 13th congress report emphasizes, "Improving the work of the state of workers revolutionary democracy and developing the system of democratic bodies of the working people in various sectors will continuously increase the participation of the masses in leading the state and all socioeconomic activities, and in more markedly democratizing our society. However, the masses active participation in state leadership and the development of workers revolutionary democracy do not in any way require us to renounce or reduce the unitary leadership of the state."

The relationship between centralization and autonomy in the leadership of our socialist society is being optimized at the same time as each of the aspects of this dialectical unity is improving. Local self-management cannot develop without the simultaneous improvement of centralized leadership.

At each stage of development, the state, with the aid of its specialized bodies and its unitary informational system, and led by the RCP, evaluates both the resources and the needs of the economy, establishes allocation priorities, and oversees the criteria of present and future efficiency. This general development strategy materializes in the plan guidelines and norms established for the entire national economy, for branches and sectors, and at a regional level. On the basis of these guidelines and norms, the economic and regional-administrative units, consumers and suppliers, together with their superior bodies and in a close cooperation, work out plan proposals for enterprises, centrals, and ministries, according to which the State Planning Committee, directly guided by the Supreme Council of Socioeconomic Development, establishes the draft single national plan. This becomes law after being examined and endorsed by the Grand National Assembly.

As seen from this brief description, the plan establishment mechanism in our country combines, by its very nature, centralized leadership and local autonomy. As plan holders, the units act responsibly and are directly interested in fulfilling their tasks efficiently and on schedule, and implement the requirements of a unitary leadership on the basis of extensive initiative. The interests of building socialism and efficiently utilizing joint property require the increasing and competent participation of the units in the process of deciding and working out the plan, and activities that will permit each one of them to observe the provisions of the single national plan of socioeconomic development.

According to our party's concept, local initiative can and must lead to the optimal fulfillment of plan tasks, by raising the technical level and quality of products, scientifically organizing production and labor, and better utilizing the resources of energy, raw materials, and manpower. Naturally, local initiative must never clash with the general interests of the society. Satisfying the interests of a collective at the expense of the general interests of the economy and society can only bring temporary gains and result in subsequent negative effects for the objectively necessary proportionality of the economy and, implicitly, for opportunities to meet the interests of each collective.

While the plan provisions, as the expression of the general interests of the society, are compulsory for all the units, it is clear that plan tasks must be carefully substantiated. Were units to be given inappropriate tasks, below or above their potential, their interest and initiative would flag, and the entire society would fail to turn its resources to good account. According to our party's concept, the dynamic accord between economic potential and social needs, and between plan tasks and supplies of material, financial, and man-power resources to carry them out constitutes one of the issues of centralized leadership and local autonomy.

In our country, due to the measures adopted to strengthen workers' self-management and economic-financial self-administration, there is an ongoing process of enhancing the units' interest in optimally setting plan tasks and in devising the best solutions for efficiently fulfilling them. Since the units do not receive their remuneration fund unless the planned itemized production is fulfilled, it is obvious that their bodies of collective leadership must change their attitude toward the plan tasks, and thus, their competence and responsible initiative in dealing with the plan are gradually increasing. Promoting the units' interest in the results of their activities, through various means, inevitably brings about improvements in the planning activities of central bodies.

The bold objectives featured in the directives of the 13th party congress on the country's socioeconomic development in the 1986-90 5-year plan and the period ending in the year 2000 can be attained, as Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu forcefully stressed, only by activating the creative energies of the people and by resolutely implementing the economic-financial mechanism, through which, while bolstering the role of the single national plan, we can improve workers' self-management and economic-financial self-administration.

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